

East Europe
Mideast policy
upside down

Page 8

IN THESE TIMES

VOL. 14, NO. 35

SEPT. 19-25, 1990

\$1.25

Ontario turns LEFT

New Democratic Party
scores stunning upset
in parliamentary
election

Dave Lindorff reports, page 3

Black independents blaze their own trail in third-party bids

By Salim Muwakkil

Disgusted by the Democratic Party's treatment of Rev. Jesse Jackson and disillusioned by the unfulfilled promise of Jackson's National Rainbow Coalition (NRC), black organizers across the country increasingly are forming independent parties to push issues crucial to African-Americans.

Although most of these strategists are quick to praise Jackson's effort and example, their emerging consensus on the need for a force outside the two-party system is a solid rebuke of his political method. Apparently, they reached similar conclusions from differing perspectives, since few of them share organizational links. What many of them do have in common, however, is past involvement in Jackson's NRC.

Fueling this renewed drive for black independent politics is a general anxiety about the country's political direction. Following the lead of Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder and Seattle Mayor Norman Rice, many black politicians now are championing "race neutral" positions designed to calm the fears of potential white voters. Meanwhile, conditions in the African-American community continue to worsen, and the downward spiral is accelerating and is decidedly race-specific.

"The deteriorating condition of the masses of African-Americans screams out for the creation of a legitimate independent progressive third force in American politics," says Ron Daniels, a longtime political organizer who recently announced his intention to mount an independent presidential campaign for 1992.

New options: Significantly, Daniels was the National Rainbow Coalition's executive director from 1987 to 1988 and was Jackson's deputy campaign manager during the 1988 presidential campaign. "While Jesse is doing a courageous job inside the Democratic Party," he adds, "it is becoming increasingly clear that African-Americans cannot rely on or depend on the two major parties for our salvation."

Daniels, 48, was also an organizer of the National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Ind., in 1972 and served as president of the National Black Political Assembly from 1974 to 1980. His commitment to the independent movement is a long one, and he believes that African-Americans have become so disaffected with mainstream

politics that the time again is ripe to provide new options.

Daniels argues that Jackson has been insulted and disrespected by the Democratic Party, despite his yeoman's service in its behalf. "During the 1988 campaign Jesse's advice on how to expand the party was virtually ignored. In fact, he was treated like a pariah. The goal of enlarging the party was snubbed in favor of attracting the elusive white male voter."

But, he adds, those who were angered by Jackson's treatment had no viable alternatives to the Democratic Party. "African-Americans and the progressive movement must not be caught in that bind in 1992 or ever again."

The centerpiece of Daniels' incipient campaign is reparations for the damage done to African-Americans during slavery. In his reading of history, the refusal of the U.S. to compensate adequately Africans for centuries of slave labor and racist degradation is at the root of black America's continuing crisis.

Once the case is made for reparations, he contends, the U.S. could easily rationalize the adoption of a domestic Marshall Plan to channel resources into the nation's beleaguered black communities. Although a "black agenda" would form the core of Daniels' campaign platform, "the critical issues and concerns of the broad progressive movement would be incorporated into the platform," he says.

The Unity Coalition: In New York City, African-American organizers are attempting to create two new independent political parties. The United African Party, headed by Joseph Mack, is explicitly designed as an all-black affair. Mack's bombastic style and incendiary rhetoric are well suited for African-Americans scarred by the city's racially charged political landscape, and he has attracted considerable interest.

Jitu Weusi is the standard-bearer for the Unity Coalition, New York's other black independent party. And while Weusi is one of the city's leading black-nationalist theorists, his party is seeking to forge a multiracial alliance. "I still consider myself a black nationalist, but I've learned through years of political experience that we need to form coalitions and alliances with other like-minded groups to be as effective as we need to be to make real change."

According to New York law, a new party can be officially established only after running a candidate for governor, so Weusi planned to enter the New York state gubernatorial race earlier this year. However, his fledgling campaign organization failed to amass the necessary number of petition signatures in the allotted time period.

"We'll use this time to sharpen our strategy and focus more closely on building the kind of political party that can actually bring oppressed New Yorkers together under one rubric to work for progressive change," Weusi explains.

The native Brooklynite also was an official in Jackson's 1988 New York campaign organization and, like Daniels, has nothing but praise for the two-time presidential candidate. But despite that favorable assessment, there clearly are feelings of frustration about Jackson's continuing reluctance to leave the Democratic Party and stake an independent claim on the body politic.

New York is also home to the New Alliance Party (NAP), an independent vehicle that has been fielding third-party candidates for a variety of offices—including the presidency—for a number of years. Lenora Fulani, who has run campaigns for offices from New York City mayor to U.S. president, is the group's best-known candidate. And while she articulates positions many organizers find favorable, they are wary of NAP's shady pedigree and its cult-like psychological techniques.

"The group emerged out of the same psychopolitical doctrines that spawned Lyndon LaRouche," explains Chip Berlet, a respected political researcher. And while NAP members tout its black-led character, observers familiar with the group contend that the person really pulling the strings is Fred Newman, a white psychologist and political theorist.

The Harold Washington Party: Many analysts cite Chicago as the birthplace of the new independent mood. Harold Washington's successful 1983 campaign to become the city's first black mayor lit the fuse for an explosion of political activity in the African-American community nationwide. The crusading character of his campaign injected the spirit of the civil-rights movement into the political arena and inspired Jackson to launch his 1984 presidential campaign.

"Washington's victory reaffirmed the links between politics and mass movements," says William Strickland, professor of political science at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and a former Jackson campaign aide. "And there's no doubt that his victory convinced Jesse that a similar strategy would yield positive results in a national campaign."

Washington won a second election in 1987 but died in November of that year. Following his death, Chicago's progressive coalition disintegrated into feuding factions. In an attempt to re-ignite the political passions Washington provoked, one faction formed the Harold Washington Party (HWP) and ran a losing independent mayoral campaign in 1989. Although the party was nominally independent, its standard-bearer was Alderman Timothy Evans, a Democrat who ran under the HWP banner merely for political convenience.

Since that election, however, the HWP has been taken

INSIDE STORY

over by black organizers who insist it has severed all links to the two major parties. "The HWP was created to represent the self-determination of the African-American community," explains party spokesman Jim Hutchinson. "And we need political self-determination after a long history of being consistently ignored by the Republicans and taken for granted by the Democrats."

The HWP presently is awaiting a court ruling to determine its eligibility to appear on the ballot in upcoming county elections. R. Eugene Pincham, a former judge who lost a Democratic mayoral primary election last March, has switched parties and become the HWP's flagship candidate in the November county election.

The HWP, however, is opposed by many of the city's most prominent black politicians as a divisive element. Bobby Rush, a Chicago alderman and former Black Panther, charges that the party is a Republican front seeking to sow confusion among black voters. Evans has since turned his back on the party. Most of these dissenters contend that the new, all-black party will serve only to aid Republicans by splitting the votes of the African-American community.

Black Muslim candidates: Heeding the tenor of the times, members of Louis Farrakhan's Nation of Islam (NOI) have also embarked on independent political campaigns for the first time in the group's 56-year history. Three NOI members are running for political office in the Washington, D.C., area. This November, the three Black Muslims are seeking to parlay black Washington's seething anger about the way they are regarded by the city's white establishment—including what many say is the unfair treatment of Mayor Marion Barry—into political spoils.

Ironically, this spurt of independent activity is happening even as African-Americans continue to make unprecedented gains in the political mainstream. In addition to the elections of Virginia's Wilder and Seattle's Rice, Harvey Gantt, a black Democrat from North Carolina, won his party's senatorial primary and is challenging incumbent Sen. Jesse Helms. Theo Mitchell triumphed in South Carolina's recent Democratic gubernatorial primary and will face incumbent Gov. Carroll Campbell Jr. in the upcoming election. And there are other examples of electoral success in varied locations across the country.

But a growing number of African-Americans are concluding that black candidates who espouse "crossover politics" in attempts to attract white voters are merely status-quo politicians who offer nothing unique for their particular problems. The defeat of former Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young in his recent Georgia gubernatorial bid is a vivid example of what can happen when an African-American black politician focuses on attracting white voters at the expense of his black base. Young made few inroads among whites and failed to generate enthusiasm among blacks.

"I'm in favor of certain kinds of crossover politics," explains Daniels. "I would have no problem with whites crossing over to support black reparations."

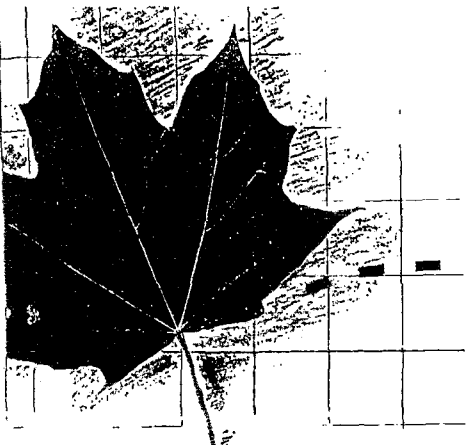
CONTENTS

Inside Story: Black independents blaze a third trail	2
New Democrats take Ontario	3
In Person	4
In Short	6
Shoe dealer moralizes and loses	7
Eastern Europe turns Middle East policy upside down	8
Lessons from the German left	11
Private-sector aid saps Costa Rican sovereignty	12
Editorial	14
Letters/Sylvia	15
Viewpoint: Same old policies for a new demon	16
Ashes and Diamonds by Alexander Cockburn	17
In Print: East eats West—Codrescu's surreal estate	18
Refugees and the picture of concern	19
Settling accounts with torturers	20
In the Arts: New Brazilian export Margareth Menezes	21
Media Beat by Pat Aufderheide	21
Classifieds	23
Harvesting academia's bumper crop	24

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100. The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright ©1990 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL, and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 14, No. 35) published Sept. 19, 1990, for newsstand sales Sept. 19-25, 1990.

Ontario takes a sharp left turn



By Dave Lindorff

AT FIRST, STARTLED CAMPAIGN STRATEGISTS of Canada's New Democratic Party (NDP) didn't know what to make of it. Toward the end of Ontario's snap 37-day provincial election, people passing Bob Rae's lumbering campaign bus in Jaguars, Mercedes and other pricey vehicles would stick their arms out the window and give the NDP candidate for provincial premier a "thumbs up"—even in known Tory or Liberal Party strongholds. Then word spread that incumbent Liberal Premier David Peterson was getting a different kind of hand signal from local motorists and bystanders even in his home "riding," or district, of London Centre.

As election day approached, it was these simple gestures that convinced NDPers they were about to score the most stunning political upset in recent Canadian history.

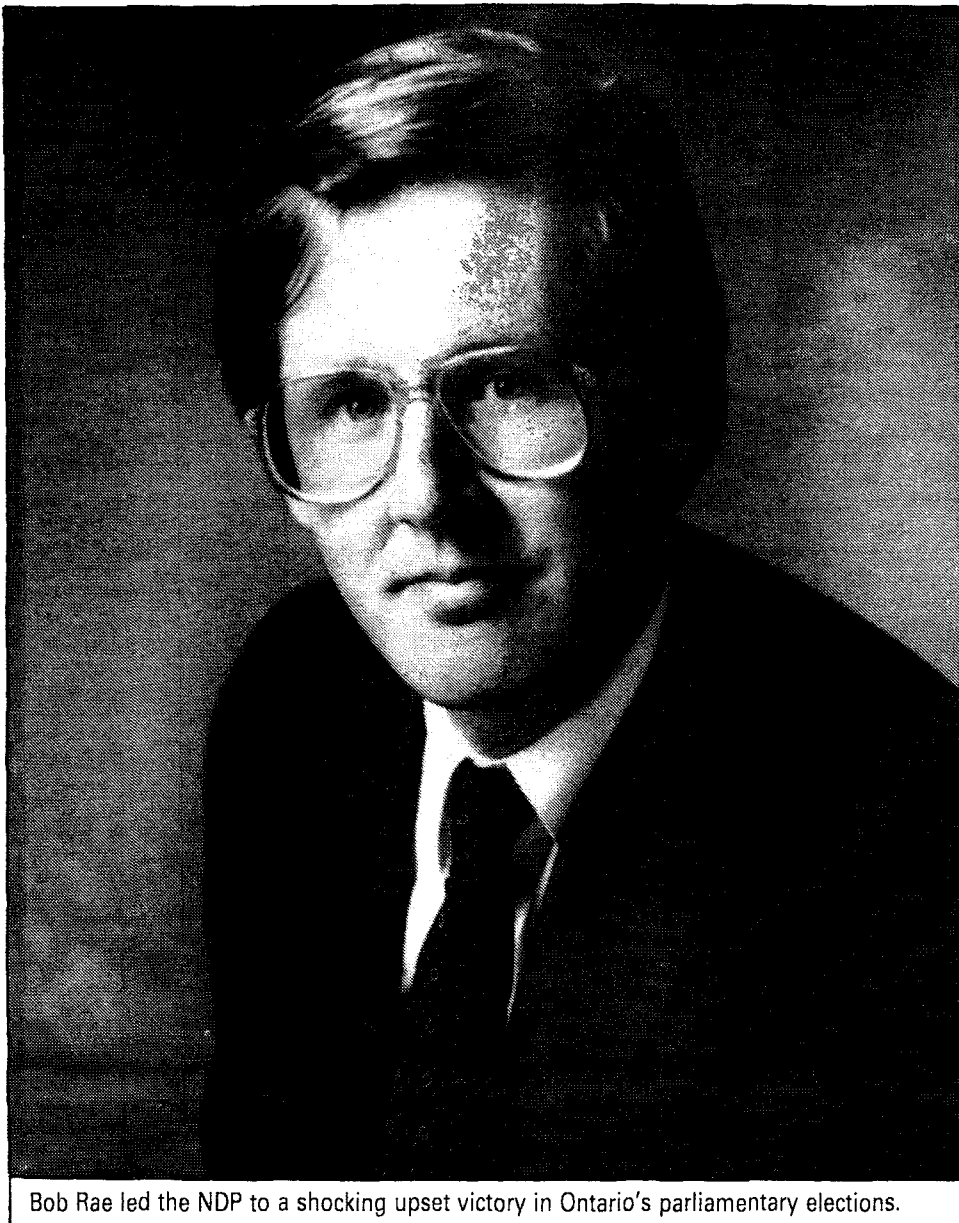
Yet when the polls closed late September 6, even the social democratic NDP leader was shocked by the results. The New Democrats, after almost four decades in the political wilderness, had won 74 of Ontario's 130 provincial parliament seats, and were assured of a five-year term in which to run Canada's largest province. Not only had the NDP jumped from 19 seats to 74 seats, but the Liberal Party that had ruled since 1982 dropped from 93 to only 36 seats. In addition, the Progressive-Conservatives, who once ruled Ontario like a private fiefdom, gained only four seats at the Liberals' expense and ended the night with 20 seats in the new parliament.

"I did not expect this result," the bespectacled Rae told cheering NDP campaign celebrants on election night. Although Rae, who began his political career as a student leader of Vietnam War protests and worked on the staff of the United Steelworkers Union before running for parliament, might not have expected Ontario to take a sharp left turn, he and his party had fought from the start as though they were contenders.

Big mistake: The election had been called early by Peterson—who, in his third year of a five-year term, had an overwhelming parliamentary majority—because he thought his party's popularity had peaked, and a recession was looming. A summer election was reportedly selected because party leaders believed many voters would stay home on election day.

Despite the long odds in early August, the NDP decided on an "attack campaign," said Julie Davis, secretary-treasurer of the 800,000-strong Ontario Federation of Labor and co-chair of Ontario NDP's campaign.

"We thought we needed a hard-hitting campaign to break the summer apathy," she explained. "We were able to capitalize on



Bob Rae led the NDP to a shocking upset victory in Ontario's parliamentary elections.

the electorate's anger and cynicism toward the other two parties, and, at the same time, were able to point out that our policies had been consistent for five years."

The NDP ran a populist campaign arguing that because 40,000 Ontario businesses had paid no taxes in 1989, an across-the-board 8-percent corporate profits tax was needed. It also called for a 40-percent increase in the minimum wage to \$7 (Canadian) an hour, or about \$6.20 U.S., stronger rent control, provincial opposition to the unpopular U.S.-Canada Free Trade Pact, resistance to a

city government.

"There was a negative vote, with people wanting to send the Liberals a message," said Davis. "But there was a vote for the NDP, too. The number of people saying they were

going to vote NDP in the middle of the campaign, according to the polls, didn't decline as the election approached and it appeared that the NDP could win. Instead, it grew."

Jill Marzetti, the NDP's provincial secretary and, with Davis, another of three campaign chairs, admitted that political serendipity did play a role in the party's sweep. "People were pretty angry at Peterson for calling a summer election," she said. "He had already reneged on a number of political promises, and now he was trying to win a new mandate when he already had 93 of 130 seats. This was seen as arrogant by many people. Yet people were also angry at the Mulroney government [the Progressive-Conservative ruling party in Ottawa led by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney] for the Free Trade Agreement and for the Meech Lake disaster [the proposed federal arrangement that broke down earlier this year, leaving Quebec ready to quit Canada].

"Our strategy was to attack—something we hadn't done in the past—and to say that Peterson had sold out to corporate interests," she continued.

This aggressive tack hit a nerve among voters who had watched as the Peterson regime was rocked by a series of financial scandals in recent months. But it worked beyond anyone's wildest dreams. Capturing 38 percent of the popular vote, while the Liberals received 32 percent and the Tories 24 percent, the NDP won handily in urban, suburban and rural ridings alike. Fully 60 of its newly elected members of the provincial parliament—truck drivers, welfare mothers, plumber's helpers as well as expected teachers and social workers—are political novices.

"In the past, we had urban strongholds," said Marzetti. "But this time, we won in traditional Tory ridings, traditional Liberal ridings and in rural ridings where we were damned lucky we even found candidates!"

The last laugh: Rae's victory catapulted him onto the national political stage both as the newest provincial premier and an NDP leader. The son of a career diplomat who grew up in posh surroundings in Geneva, Washington and Ottawa, the nation's capital, the 42-year-old Rae, according to friends and colleagues, found his political calling in the London slums where he worked for two years as a social worker after graduating from Oxford. Then in 1978 he won an NDP seat in the federal Parliament from a Toronto riding. He became the national NDP's official finance critic, where he earned a reputation for expert questioning and a sharp tongue.

In 1982, Rae retreated from national politics and made a bid for the leadership of the Ontario provincial NDP, telling friends he wanted to be premier. With the NDP buried in third place, the idea seemed ludicrous at the time. But now nobody's laughing.

If anything, friends and foes alike are still stunned by what the NDP accomplished on September 6. Assuming control of Ontario—a vast cosmopolitan province with large ethnic and racial minorities and a broad-based economy—is much more significant than, for example, taking over the govern-

Continued on page 10

No news in U.S. press

Though Canadians across that vast nation were agape at the NDP's stunning victory in Ontario's provincial election September 6, by press time a week later, America's paper of record, the *New York Times*, did not find news of the upset fit to print, and the three leading networks had yet to utter a word about it.

Indeed, while British Columbia and New Brunswick's conservative premiers, fearing more NDP upsets, were shelving their plans for early provincial elections, the only Canadian story the *Times* printed that week was a Reuters story in Saturday's business section announcing that a Taiwan-based billionaire had acquired a theme park in Vancouver.

Still smothered by breathless stories about the triumphs of capitalism in Eastern Europe, the only Americans likely to know about socialism's counter-attack on this country's northern flank as late as September 13 were those near the border who listen to Canadian radio, or those who read the *Wall Street Journal*. And the *Journal's* coverage of the NDP victory was limited to stories about its likely impact on Canada's "business climate." —D.L.

If anything, friends and foes alike are still stunned by what the New Democratic Party accomplished on September 6.

proposed federal sales tax, improved welfare benefits, stronger environmental regulation and plant closing restrictions.

Power grab: After the election, political pundits were quick to attribute the NDP win to negative voting. But, according to Davis and other NDP campaign leaders, that was only one part of the story. The party didn't just win the provincial election: it simultaneously swept to power in every major Ontario

By Joel Bleifuss

This war thing

Last week I reported on how the battle-ready psychotics in the administration were bested by forces of sanity—despite the concerted efforts of those journalists indentured to both the corporate press and the fifth estate. At the close of that column I promised to explain “how the war that almost was was almost orchestrated.” But now, who knows. As his speech indicated last week, Bush is still poised to spill blood. How many pints of blood from how many hundreds of thousands of people is unclear. The French minister of defense Jean-Pierre Chevenement has said that a war would leave 100,000 dead on both sides. But the *New York Times*' R.W. Apple reports that by launching cruise missiles at important Iraqi targets from the battle ship Wisconsin, “Pentagon strategists would hope to limit American casualties.” Apple did not put the adjective “nuclear” before the noun “cruise,” so one can only presume, without certainty, that he is speaking of conventional warheads. Add to that the word two weeks ago that the U.S. sent 17,000 special forces, the military's elite hit team, to the Gulf.

What passes for news: In a page-one “news analysis,” Apple—pumped up by his commander-in-chief's “hardest-hitting” and “best-delivered speech” since 1,000 points of light—warns that “the greatest danger to [Bush's] strategy [is] a buildup of doubts and caveats at home.” Fortunately for our President there are enough self-polishing hacks like Apple out there to prevent this nasty buildup—at least until we start sending spent soldiers on a zip-locked flight home. Then Bush will have some explaining to do. Apple quotes the ever-so-statesmanly *Economist* of Britain, which warned that a malaise of homegrown doubts could turn Bush's policy to rout Iraq from Kuwait into “a wobbling mirage that is redefined until it is unrecognizable before fading away.” A nice turn of phrase, but one that better describes the evolution of Bush's gulf policy.

Guard duty: It bears repeating that the official rationale for establishing U.S. bases in Saudi Arabia, and now Oman, Bahrain, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, was to prevent an Iraqi invasion of Saudi Arabia. What is forgotten is that for 10 years the U.S. has been trying to convince the Saudis to allow an American military base. This in mind, was Saddam really prepared to invade? Or is that what the administration would have us believe. First, if Iraq had plans to invade Saudi Arabia, it would have done so immediately after its invasion of Kuwait when the road was clear. The *New York Times*' Youssef Ibrahim reported on August 17, “A Saudi military expert said that Saddam Hussein missed his chance to invade Saudi Arabia immediately after his army took over Kuwait, when it would have pushed on along the coastal road leading to Eastern Province.” But perhaps Iraq never intended to take such a risk. President Jimmy Carter once warned the world that “an attack on Saudi Arabia would be considered an attack on the United States.” That was one of the tenets of the Carter Doctrine, the policy that has guided U.S. Gulf policy to the present. Further, King Hussein of Jordan, a faithful ally who was on the CIA payroll from 1957 to 1977, consistently claims that Saddam had no intention of sending troops into Saudi Arabia. All of which brings up the point that if Bush had not sent troops to Saudi Arabia and instead had given diplomatic efforts and U.N. joint actions a chance, it would soon have become obvious to everyone that Saddam was digging in to the Kuwaiti desert and had no plans for a Saudi excursion. But by sending troops to the Gulf five days after the invasion of Kuwait and the day after the U.N. Security Council voted for the trade embargo Bush seized an opportunity to set up a base in Saudi Arabia. Of course, Bush insists that is not the case. Take the following exchange during his August 22 press conference: “Mr. President, King Hussein today in Jordan suggested that perhaps you moved too precipitously—in his words—that if there had not been this buildup ... we might not be in the situation we're in, that Saddam Hussein might have withdrawn. Were there ever any signals that that might have been the case?” Bush: “I would simply remind people who hear that allegation ... when we're invited by a friend to help defend it against aggression that has recently taken place, and that threatens to take place again, we're going to respond ... I might say that the request for support was not taken without reason. ... I think it is important to keep reminding people of why the Saudis felt threatened and probably today still feel threatened.”

Cheney chicanery: The decision to deploy troops in Saudi Arabia was explained by Presidential Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater. He said that U.S. intelligence information indicated Iraq was on the verge of attacking Saudi Arabia: “There is an imminent threat to



Stanley Greenberg has plans to bring the Democrats back to the people.

Stan Greenberg: polling for pols

By Steve Lilienthal

“Everybody is going to be either very rich or very poor. There's going to be the rich in their little towers, and there's going to be everybody else floundering around trying to survive,” said an Ohio woman in a recent focus group conducted by Greenberg-Lake/The Analysis Group. And that sentiment gives Democratic pollster Stanley Greenberg hope that the Republican hold on the middle-class electorate is beginning to crack.

Greenberg caught the attention of Democratic strategists in the mid-'80s when he argued that his research showed white, middle-class voters were defecting to the GOP because they felt ignored by the party once identified with representing the “forgotten man.” Now party leaders are starting to pay attention as Greenberg presses them to address the middle-class “squeeze” that voters like the Ohio woman are feeling. And he points to the need for a “national renewal” program to strengthen the U.S.' ability to compete in the world market.

In his recently published monograph, *Toward a Democratic Economics*, Greenberg reports that his voter surveys show Republicans still enjoy a 39 percent to 24 percent advantage over Democrats on the issue of keeping the country prosperous. But at the same time, he says, “Democrats have an enormous opportunity to reclaim the mantle of prosper-

ity.”

Stop that bleeding heart: National Democratic strategists first took notice in 1982 when Greenberg, at the time a Yale political-science professor, worked for the congressional campaign of Michigan Democrat Bob Carr. “Fairness” was the theme that Democrats were then pushing in response to Reaganomics, but Greenberg's work in the state led him to conclude that the message was counterproductive. “People were surprised,” recalls Greenberg. “I was considered a liberal, and it was not liberal to argue against the fairness theme.”

Walter Mondale's 1984 loss to Ronald Reagan energized conservative Democrats, who argued that the party had to move to the right to regain the voters' trust. If that meant shoving aside long-held Democratic principles, so be it. As for the progressive wing of the party, it was left groping for new ideas.

In Michigan, the state party and the Michigan Educational Association hired Greenberg to find out what went wrong in places like Macomb County, Mich., a working- and middle-class Detroit suburb that Reagan carried 66.5 percent to 33.5 percent. A focus group of Macomb's Democratic defectors sat down with Greenberg and responded to open-ended questions about their political views. At first, voters would discuss their frustration with Jimmy Carter's presidency and the Democratic Party's identifica-

tion with high taxes and big spending. But race quickly entered the discussion when voters related what they considered to be "special privileges" accorded to racial minorities that they blamed for their failure to be hired or to receive small-business loans. "Fairness" was associated by those voters as another word for affirmative action.

When Greenberg presented his findings at a meeting of state party chairs, many disliked having his findings discussed in public. But they listened.

As repugnant as Greenberg finds the racism of some white voters, he contends those feelings are very present. Progressives, he says, often react by not wanting to acknowledge the racism rising from the frustrated white middle class. Greenberg rejects both the progressives' tendency to "moralize and lose" and the conservative Democrats' notion that white middle-class voters can be won over only by tinkering with the Republican policies. He calls for the use of boldly populist issues to link the middle-class "swing" voters and the less-prosperous elements of the Democratic Party.

"When the middle class thinks about car insurance, they think they're paying for uninsured motorists who they assume to be black or Puerto Rican," he says. "When they think about health insurance, they think they're paying for people who are uninsured because they're unemployed. 'So when we say Democrats should talk about how auto insurance costs are out of control, they shouldn't be talking about uninsured motorists. They should be talking more about health-care costs, not universal access. The political benefit is speaking in a way the middle class understands. But the consequence is that it's not automatic that when you speak to the middle class you also speak to the poor. You try to speak about issues that have a broad impact.'"

Greenberg points out that many Reagan voters who responded to conservative populist messages against "big government" and "big labor" are also responsive to messages against "big business." Furthermore, he argues that the "middle class will not begrudge the poor as long as they feel that their needs are being met too."

Work, he says, is something that the middle class places a high value on, but many Democrats seem to resist discussing it because they consider it "anti-welfare." However, he adds, Democrats should stress their desire to help "working- and middle-class families."

Indeed, middle-class families have good reason to feel "squeezed," even if their anger is misdirected at "minorities" and "foreigners." Kevin Phillips' recently published book, *The Politics of Rich and Poor*, reports that the tax rate for the wealthiest Americans, which was 70 percent during Reagan's first year in office, had declined to 28 percent by his last year. In 1977, the median family income (MFI) was \$30,025. One decade later, the MFI had crept up to \$30,853. But statistics compiled by the Tax Foundation suggest that the 1987 after-tax MFI of \$23,508 declined \$2,010 from its 1977 level.

Moving into the '90s: Prices, Greenberg says, is the big message that can bring voters back into the Democratic column. "Voters see things such as taxes, health care, insurance, child care and college costs becoming less and less affordable. If you put the debate in the price area, voters are very clear about their inability to keep up," the pollster explains.

A recent Greenberg study showed that 44 percent believe their income is failing to keep up with prices, while 38 percent said they were earning just enough to stay afloat. That feeling is reflected in thoughts expressed by a Florida woman in one of Greenberg's focus-group sessions. "I think about when I was married, a week of groceries cost me \$13 and my husband thought that was entirely too

much money to spend. Now I spend \$150. I feel like I'm always running and this big snowball is behind me getting bigger and bigger."

Greenberg contends Democrats can also score points by castigating the failures of foreign countries to open up their markets along with the fast-buck motives of American corporations that hurt the national economy. But rather than having the Democrats engage in bashing at home and abroad, Greenberg says his data shows that the party's most popular route would be to advocate policies that put Americans' "own house in order."

A danger for Democrats, cautions Greenberg, is that Bush may try to home in on the theme of "putting our house in order" and adds that Democrats should be doing more to aggressively push it. Citing the administration's displeasure with the Family Medical Leave Act, he argues that the GOP is limited in being "kinder and gentler" by its strong business ties.

The personal and political: This year Greenberg is testing his opinion, putting his pollsters and ideas to work for Kathleen Brown, daughter and sister of former California governors Pat and Jerry, who is running for California state treasurer. He has also been hired by U.S. Senate candidate Jose Heath of Colorado, Rep. David Bonior (D-MI) and New Jersey congressional candidate Marguerite Chandler. In addition, he is handling survey research for the congressional campaign of progressive Democrat Rosa DeLauro, a former aide to Sen. Christopher Dodd (D-CT) and Greenberg's wife.

The campaign is never far from Greenberg and DeLauro's thoughts as they sit in their New Haven, Conn., kitchen reflecting on their 11-year marriage. He, short with curly dark hair and a moustache, is garbed in jeans and a sweater. She, thin with short dark hair, is wearing a multicolored batik dress. On her wrist is a gold-plated Mickey Mouse watch. They're not your average couple, this Jewish pollster and Italian-American political operative turned congressional candidate. "Politics has been important. It brought us together," says DeLauro.

Sometimes separately, sometimes together, Greenberg and DeLauro have been on one long winning streak in Connecticut and national politics throughout the '80s, helping guide the careers of Democratic politicians such as Senators Dodd and Joe Lieberman. Even after Michael Dukakis lost in 1988, DeLauro, who ran his campaign in Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, came out a winner by winding up as the director of EMILY's List, a political-action committee that assists women candidates.

Now, her man at her side, DeLauro is forsaking the backroom for a front-and-center role as the Democratic congressional candidate in the New Haven-area district that Rep. Bruce Morrison is leaving to run for governor.

Even in Connecticut, which leads the nation in per-capita income, the middle-class squeeze is actually felt. State residents wonder, "If we're doing so well, why are we having such trouble keeping up?" So DeLauro has proposed universal health insurance to replace the costly and inefficient current system that, she says, places "a hidden tax on working families." She stresses that the current system has a "burdensome administration" that costs the average family \$2,000 every year. It is a message she bets will send her to Washington.

"The goal is to govern," Greenberg says. "I believe we're entering a different economic era. The worry about economic decline, concern over prices and the feeling that middle-class kids won't have the same standard of living as their parents are all starting to come together. There's an opportunity to deliver a Democratic critique of Reaganomics that makes sense to the middle class."

Steve Lilienthal is a Washington, D.C.-based writer.

Saudi Arabia from the way that [Iraqi troops] are positioned and located in Kuwait. ... There have been changes of a sort that cause us to believe there is a growing and continuous threat to Saudi Arabia." Among those who heard that threatening message were members of Congress. As Carroll Doherty reports in *Congressional Quarterly*, "It was the possibility of a quick strike by Iraq that spurred the wave of congressional enthusiasm for the president's response." The Saudi support for U.S. basing was secured by Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney after he presented King Fahd with "American intelligence reports indicating that Iraq was on the verge of attacking Saudi Arabia." The Saudi king was also convinced by Egypt's agreement to commit troops. The cynical could wonder if factors in this policy puzzle included U.S. promises to sell Saudi Arabia previously forbidden military wizardry and to forgive Egypt's \$7 billion military debt. Those carrots perhaps played a part, but what most certainly played the largest role was the U.S. intelligence information Cheney presented to the Saudis and Egyptians. As the *New York Times*' Michael Gordon reported, "According to classified intelligence reports, Iraq has been observed loading and unloading chemical bombs onto aircraft. American officials believe that the operations were performed in full view of American spy satellites to send a threatening message to the United States and Saudi Arabia."

Smile, you're: in full view of American spy satellites. Yea right, the Hubble telescope. Give us a break. As former CIA officer Ralph McGehee told me: "There has been no hesitation in the past to use doctored satellite photographs to support the policy position that the U.S. wants supported." Two pertinent examples: On Jan. 12, 1987, the *New York Times*' Stephen Engelberg, quoting intelligence sources, reported that during the Reagan administration U.S. intelligence agencies provided both Iran and Iraq with misleading intelligence. He reports Iran was given intelligence assessments that "were 'doctored' to exaggerate the size of Soviet troop concentrations on the Iran border. At the same time, the sources said, some information derived from satellite photography that was shared with Iraq was altered to make it misleading or incomplete. One source said, for example, that the images were cropped to leave out important details." John Pike, the director of space policy at the Federation of American Scientists in Washington, doubts that the photos shown Congress, the Saudis and the Egyptians were fiddled with. "I don't think there would be any question of doctoring the photos," says Pike. "The place where it starts to get tricky is that you've got these pictures of tanks at the border, but do they show that these tanks are about to invade or are digging in? ... Most people are unaccustomed to looking at [these photos], so basically the naive policy maker will have to take the photo interpreter's word for it." Pike says that prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, when satellite photos recorded tanks massed at the border, the governing wisdom was that Saddam could invade, but "we don't think he will." After the invasion, when the tanks were at the Saudi border, thoughts were that Saddam could invade, and "we think he might." Adds Pike, "Satellite photos can tell you a lot about capabilities but not about intentions. One of the things that the pictures have been showing is that his people have been digging into Kuwait, and that lends a lot of credence to the proposition that he is not going to grab Saudi Arabia." The question is when did Iraq begin to "dig in"—prior to the deployment of U.S. troops or after. Only U.S. intelligence agencies know for sure.

Pick a threat, any threat: After the U.S. troops were deployed it became apparent that Saddam was not going to attack Saudi Arabia. Consequently, U.S. policy makers had to find a reason for a war with Iraq that they could sell to the American public. Enter the spectre of Saddam—a latter-day Hitler armed with chemical weapons and nuclear missiles in the wings. Then enter Henry Kissinger—Saddam's moral equivalent with his August 19 op-ed piece in the *Los Angeles Times*. He writes in part, "The crisis over Kuwait marks a watershed for the Bush administration. Success will boost world morale and the world economy. It will strengthen the President's domestic leadership. Failure will blight all future domestic and international efforts. ... The United States cannot afford to be dithered; it simply cannot afford to lose. If sanctions prove too uncertain and diplomacy unavailing, the United States will need to consider a surgical and progressive destruction of Iraq's military assets ... America has crossed its Rubicon. All those concerned with global peace and world economic well-being should subordinate whatever tactical misgivings they may have to standing behind the only policy that can now succeed." Kissinger's call for Saddam's head has been ballyhooed through the press in the last several weeks to the point of near acceptance. "Saddam Hussein will fall," Bush pledged.

If you can't beat 'em, shoot 'em

In honor of the Bush administration's one-year anniversary of the war on drugs, Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl F. Gates told a Senate hearing that casual drug users "ought to be taken out and shot." Discussing his comment with the Senate Judiciary Committee, Gates said his harsh assessment was aimed at those "who blast some pot on a casual basis," as opposed to hard-core addicts driven by a physical need for illicit drugs, reports the *Los Angeles Times*. "We're in a war," added Gates, insisting he was not being facetious, and even casual drug use "is treason."

The really dirty dozen

Heading Environmental Action's new list of the twelve congressional members with the worst environmental records are Sen. Alan Simpson (R-WY) and Rep. Robert Michel (R-IL), while Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) was given the group's first "Lifetime Achievement Award." Only those "polluters' pals" running for re-election are eligible for the Dirty Dozen list, published each congressional election year. Other senators chosen for their "acts of leadership against the environment," include Howell Heflin (D-AL) and Mitch McConnell (R-KY). Larry Craig (R-ID), William Dannemeyer (R-CA), Bill Emerson (R-MI), Clyde Holloway (R-LA), James Inhofe (R-OK), Stan Parris (R-VA), Denny Smith (R-OR), and Arlan Stangeland (R-MN) complete the list of representatives.

Reading, writing and assassination

Nine hunger strikers, including decorated Vietnam veterans and a former member of the Salvadoran military's special forces, are entering their third week of protest, demanding that Ft. Benning's Army School of the Americas in Columbus, Ga., cease training Salvadoran soldiers. Known to Latin Americans as the "School of Coups," the School of the Americas was founded in the Canal Zone in 1946 to train officers in counterinsurgency. According to Rep. Joe Moakley (D-MA), five of the Salvadoran soldiers implicated in last November's Jesuit murders were trained there. El Salvador's military is the largest customer of the school, reported the *Washington Post's* Coleman McCarthy earlier this year. The school is paid for training Salvadorans by the Salvadoran government, which gets the money from the U.S.

Blood is thicker than oil

Following is a selection from "Twenty-Four Answers To Raise Questions About U.S. Energy Policy," released by *Greenpeace News*. "Barrels of oil the U.S. consumes each day: 17 million; barrels of oil the U.S. imports every day: 8.4 million; U.S. proportion of world's cars: 35 percent; U.S. proportion of world's population: 5 percent; cost to build a mile of urban highway: \$100 million; cost to build a mile of light rail mass transit: \$15 million; change in federal funding for mass transit from 1981 to 1989: minus 50 percent; reduction in Department of Energy budget for renewable energy between 1981 and 1989: 90 percent; estimated number of U.S. nuclear warheads on U.S. warships sent to Gulf: 484; market price of Middle East oil prior to Iraqi invasion of Kuwait: \$20 per barrel; price of Middle East oil if both routine U.S. military costs in Middle East and costs of Operation Desert Shield are included: \$61 per barrel."

Whitehall and Me

Under the slogan, "Hometowns Against Shutdowns," the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) is fighting the conditions of the imminent closing of the Whitehall Laboratories pharmaceutical plant in Elkhart, Ind. Parent company American Home Products has announced the layoff of 150 administrative workers—out of a total of 575 positions—by the end of the year. The closing of Whitehall would phase out an additional 2,126 jobs at other local businesses due to economic ripple effects, says an environmental-impact statement released by the Midwest Center for Labor Research on behalf of OCAW. Among the study's all-too-familiar statistics are that 70 percent of the Whitehall workers are over 40; 17 percent are black; 56 percent are women; 34 percent are single heads of households; 70 percent won't have any form of health insurance once the plant closes; and 43 percent will still be out of work when their 26 weeks of unemployment runs out—most will face jobs that pay \$4 to \$8 an hour.

Please send timely news about local activities, follow-ups on stories we've run or other interesting bits of information—including your address and phone number—to Kira Jones, In These Times, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647.

La Penca's scattered shrapnel beats a path to the CIA's door

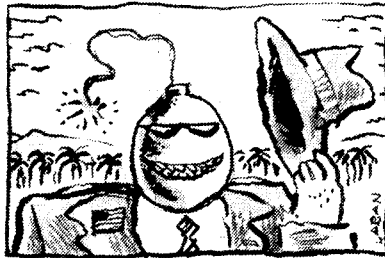
Six years after the 1984 La Penca bombing, which killed three journalists and one contra, a new 54-page report illustrates a covert collaboration between Costa Rican and U.S. agents.

Authored by the Costa Rican government—under pressure from the Costa Rican Journalists Association—the report charges John Hull, a resident of Costa Rica for 20 years, with engineering the bombing that was intended to kill maverick contra leader Eden Pastora. Carlos Lehder, a Medellin drug lord imprisoned in the U.S. for life plus 135 years, has publicly said that Hull "was pumping about 30 tons of cocaine into the U.S. a year" from Costa Rica at the time of the bombing.

Interpol, an international law-enforcement agency, has placed Hull—who is currently holed up on his Indiana farm—on its most-wanted list for homicide charges, and the Costa Rican government is slowly preparing a request for his extradition. The Bush administration, however, is taking no steps to detain the "fugitive," nor is it likely to. (Both Costa Rican and U.S. congressional staff sources claim Drug Enforcement

Agency agent Juan Perez arranged Hull's getaway last year when Hull jumped bail on Costa Rican drug charges.)

This latest report—which also charges two Costa Rican officials with taking CIA payoffs to sabotage the initial La Penca investigation—lends credence to the 1986 report



by U.S. journalists Martha Honey and Tony Avirgan, who was injured in the bombing. Their 18-month investigation traced the bombing back to CIA operatives and contra suppliers, naming Hull and Cuban-American Felipe Vidal as principal engineers.

The new findings have apparently stimulated efforts by the Bush administration to shut down the investigation. According to Costa Rican officials, U.S. Embassy "consular officer" Steven Groh recently confronted Chief Prosecutor Jose Maria Tijerino with a Florida court ruling that dismissed a case brought against Hull by Honey and Avirgan. "The matter has already been dealt with," Groh reportedly said. But, according to Tijerino, the Florida ruling has no jurisdiction in Costa Rica.

—Karen D. Brown

U.S. war on drugs claims medical victims, too

People suffering from AIDS, cancer and some other painful diseases are being victimized by the Bush administration's war on drugs, according to organizers seeking reform of the nation's marijuana laws.

Late last month, the National Organization to Reform the Marijuana Laws (NORML) held a three-day lobbying session in Washington to convince legislators of the values of the illicit plant.

Robert Randall, founder of the Alliance for Cannabis Therapeutics (ACT), has argued for a decade that marijuana is of great medicinal value and should be made available in appropriate cases. An estimated 30 million Americans consume the drug on at least an occasional basis, even though its possession is treated as a crime in most of the 50 states.

At present, only five persons in the U.S. are legally permitted to smoke marijuana. One of them, a bone cancer patient, uses it as a muscle relaxant, while another finds it helpful in reducing the severity of his spasmodic seizures. The three remaining individuals, all afflicted with glaucoma, are able to take advantage of marijuana's documented ability to alleviate pain associated

with this eye disease.

Randall, who is among the three glaucoma patients, was the first American to win the right to use marijuana as a therapeutic agent. Through ACT, he now assists others engaged in the arduous and protracted effort to gain legal access to the drug.

Randall's Washington-based organization came close two years ago to achieving a major breakthrough. Ruling on a suit brought by the alliance, an administrative judge with the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) agreed that marijuana's legal status should be changed.

Judge Francis Young concluded that marijuana ought to be removed from the DEA's "Schedule One," which includes drugs regarded as addicting and entirely lacking in medicinal properties. LSD and heroin are also proscribed under the same category.

Young ruled in favor of ACT's contention that marijuana should be placed on Schedule Two, which lists addicting drugs that do have therapeutic uses. Cocaine is included on that roster.

Such action would allow physicians to prescribe marijuana while retaining the current prohibition against its general use. In announcing his decision, Young described the drug as "one of the safest therapeutically active substances known to man."

In December 1989, however, the

Costa Rican investigators also must contend with their country's own right-wing sectors, which have consistently sought to undermine the La Penca probe. According to Jorge Chaverria, Costa Rican prosecutor, the rightist Costa Rican Democratic Association fanned rumors that the Sandinistas or the Basque terrorist group ETA carried out the bombing and put forth false witnesses "to try to divert the investigation."

The conservative Costa Rican press has not only failed to support the new report but also prints blatantly hostile articles against the investigators to avoid problems with the U.S. Embassy, adds Chaverria.

Even Chaverria's own investigators at first scoffed at the CIA conspiracy theory, but within three months they confirmed most of the damning allegations. Nevertheless, Costa Rican government officials—who peg Tijerino as a Sandinista—still insist the report merely reiterates the findings of Honey and Avirgan.

Meanwhile, Hull's fate rests in the hands of U.S. officials, who are in no particular hurry to investigate or prosecute him. Interpol's arrest warrant for "hostile acts, drug trafficking and homicide" can be found in an FBI informational file. If the U.S. does give permanent refuge to Hull and the dirty secrets he holds, "we can't do anything," says Chaverria.

DEA's overseers decreed that marijuana would remain on Schedule One despite Young's ruling. ACT is appealing that order, but many observers believe that the federal government will strongly resist any attempt to ease restrictions on marijuana use.

"It would be a big public-relations loss for DEA to admit that marijuana has any therapeutic value," says John Dunlap, a spokesman for NORML. "They're going to keep fighting very hard."

The publicity barrage accompanying the war on drugs is part of what makes it difficult to gain official approval for use of marijuana as a medicinal agent. "Doctors are very leery about openly recommending marijuana use because of the whole atmosphere created by the war on drugs," says Mary Lynn Mathre, head of NORML's council on marijuana and health. "They're afraid they'll be suspected of being lenient about illegal drugs."

Still, pressure continues to mount for liberalization of the government's attitude toward therapeutic marijuana use. Recently, for example, a researcher at a university in Florida reported that the active ingredient in cannabis destroyed the herpes virus in test-tube experiments. Because millions of Americans are afflicted with some form of herpes, that finding may potentially be of great political significance.

—Kevin J. Kelley

By John B. Judis

WASHINGTON

IN JULY 1989, TWO SALES REPRESENTATIVES FROM a major athletic shoe manufacturer visited Wally Grigo, the owner of three athletic apparel stores in the New Haven, Conn., area. Grigo was feeling pinched by several new sneaker shops that had opened near his downtown business and, in response, had begun cutting his prices. The sales reps told him that the company didn't approve of this tactic. Grigo replied, "Don't complain to me

DRUGS

when I lower my prices to try to keep my customer base. We're all selling the same goddamn shoes. How do we make ourselves different?"

One of the sales reps then told Grigo something that made his jaw drop. He "looked me in the eye," Grigo recalls, "and said, 'Look, you have to find your market niche. You are an inner-city store. You have to look at your drug dealers.'"

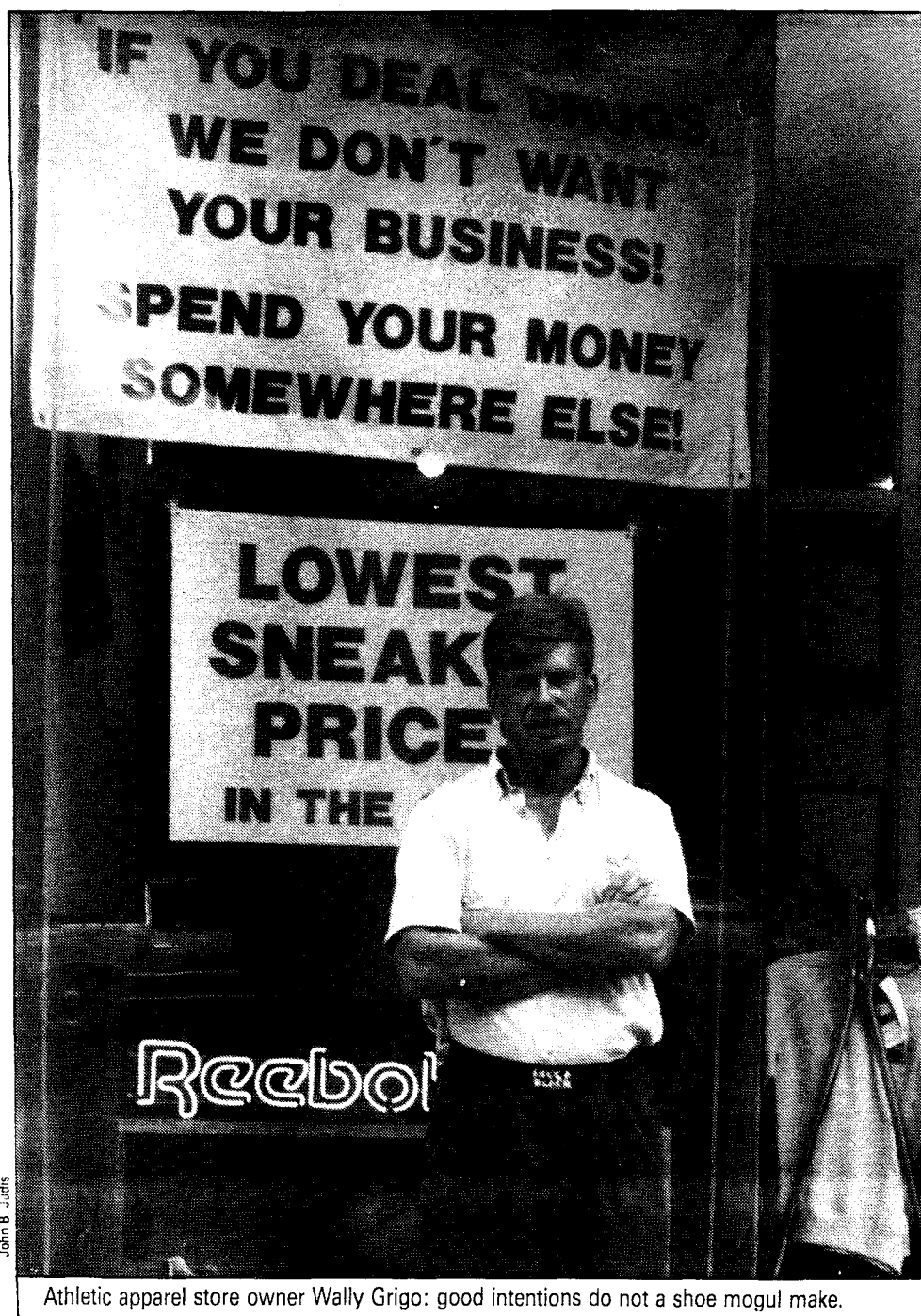
This conversation set off a chain of events over the past year that gained Grigo considerably notoriety as a soldier in the drug war, but was also a factor, ironically, in his filing for bankruptcy last month. Provoked by the sales reps, he put a sign on the front window of his three stores on Aug. 13, 1989, informing drug dealers that "if you deal in drugs, we don't want your business." According to Grigo, his income at his most lucrative store declined as much as \$2,000 a week.

His story sheds light on the sordid connection between sneaker sales and drug dealers as well as the link between shoe companies and this inner-city market. Nike and other companies are not only extracting billions from inner cities, but also, like the drug dealers themselves, are consciously encouraging highly destructive behavior (see *In These Times*, Sept. 12). Whoever gets in the way—from a conscientious small businessman such as Grigo to Rev. Tyrone Crider, the director of Operation PUSH—is rudely shoved aside.

Nike in control: Grigo, an amateur road racer and jogger, had managed a Running Start store after graduating from New York University. But that job did not prepare him for what he encountered as he prepared to open his own store.

Athletic apparel stores, Grigo quickly learned, more closely resemble franchised gas stations than supermarkets or book stores. The biggest suppliers decide who goes into business and what they will sell. In Grigo's case, he had to convince Nike, the nation's largest athletic apparel company, to sell to him, and he had to accept its conception of what he should sell and to whom. According to Grigo, he had wanted to specialize in selling athletic shoes to local runners, most of whom he knew personally, but Nike insisted that he sell Air Jordans and other high-priced basketball shoes to New Haven residents.

Grigo's first store, set up in 1985 near the city's downtown square, was a success and prompted him to open two others in the suburbs. But Nike's strategy is to keep adding stores in a market until it is saturated. After four more stores that featured Nikes opened in downtown New Haven, Grigo slashed prices to protect his market share. When questioned, Grigo would not publicly reveal which company sent its representatives to



Athletic apparel store owner Wally Grigo: good intentions do not a shoe mogul make.

These inner-city shoes were made for dealing

complain about his price-cutting. Grigo, who is currently in bankruptcy negotiations with his creditors, is afraid of reprisals. He also doesn't believe it's fair to single out one company above all others.

Before the visit from the two sales reps, Grigo had been well aware of how important drug dealers were to his downtown New

This story sheds light on the sordid connection between shoe companies and the inner-city market. Nike and others are not only extracting billions from inner cities but, like the drug dealers, are consciously encouraging highly destructive behavior.

Haven business. They spent lavishly, as much as \$200 to \$300 a week, on \$150 Air Jordans and \$185 Nike warm-up suits.

Fashion conscience: "The drug money is the most profitable part of the business," the 39-year-old businessman explained as he sat in a cafe next door to his store. "The drug dealers are not price-conscious. It is a matter of pride that they are able to buy the most expensive items."

A store that sells to drug dealers will not only reap large profits but also gain the business of a dealer's small-time sellers and runners. In neighboring Waterbury, inner-city high school students, when questioned by the *Waterbury American*, estimated that between 25 and 40 percent of their classmates dealt drugs. In addition, many other teenagers follow the drug dealers' lead in style and fashion.

"A lot of kids look up to the drug dealers," Grigo explains. "They've made it, and they're successful. They have everything they want. They are, in effect, free billboards in the community. They create brand recognition."

Even before the sales reps' July 1989 visit, Grigo had grown increasingly uncomfortable selling to drug dealers. He believed that by

taking their money, storeowners like himself were helping to make them acceptable citizens and role models. "When the kids see the so-called legitimate people in town are bending over backwards to kiss ass to drug dealers, they can say the drug dealers are legitimate, too. Their money is green, and that is all that counts."

For Grigo, the sales reps' visit was the last straw. On the day he put up his three signs, he held a joint press conference with black mayoral candidate John Daniels, who three months later was elected mayor.

Grigo recruited Daniels because he didn't want to be accused of discriminating against inner-city customers, but even Daniels' participation did not stop some rival store owners from casting aspersions on Grigo's commitment to civil rights. "These are guys who couldn't care less about the inner city, but when it comes to making a buck, everybody's a goddamn civil-rights activist," Grigo says now with some bitterness.

Grigo and Rep. Bruce Morrison (D-CT) tried to get car dealers and other local merchants to follow Grigo's example but were unsuccessful. Meanwhile, Grigo suffered not only from declining sales but also from hostility or indifference from several shoe and apparel companies. For example, when he tried to get a line of much-in-demand team jackets into his store, the local representative told him, "We'll sell to you, but you have to cut out the crap and take down that sign."

Fashion statement: Grigo recognizes, however, that the problem goes much deeper than selling to drug dealers. Inner-city youth, he says, spend immense amounts of money on sneakers and team jackets. "People don't understand how big the inner-city market is. It is out of all proportion to numbers and perceived wealth. The reason is the enormous peer pressure. The inner-city kids place a much bigger emphasis on their clothing, footwear in particular. A kid in town is buying four or five or six times as many shoes as his suburban counterpart. The drug dealers might be coming in every week to buy a new pair of shoes, but the good kids who have regular jobs and who are saving all their money, they are coming in every two or three weeks."

The kids who purchase shoes at Grigo's New Haven store hardly ever use them for sports. Instead, they wear the hightop Air Jordans unlaced, and get new ones when they get scuffed. "It's a casual fashion statement," he explains.

Grigo says he can't help thinking that these kids would be better off buying a book or saving their money for college. "It's almost like the economics of selling sneakers is resting on a foundation of inner-city kids who can't afford to be spending all this money," he says.

Grigo does not want to comment publicly on Operation PUSH's boycott of Nike for its unwillingness to hire black managers and put more of its money back into the inner cities. He thinks that Nike recently has done some "good things," including an anti-drug commercial, but he does believe that companies like Nike should begin hiring more blacks in positions of authority.

"One reason this whole thing has gotten out of control," he says, "is because [the companies] haven't had anybody in the organization who would stand up and ask, 'Wait a minute, do you have any idea what this is doing to our cities?'" □

This is the third and final part in a series on Eastern Europe and its changing relationship with the Third World.

By Paul Hockenos & Jane Hunter

WHEN IT COMES TO DEALING WITH THE volatile Middle East, most nations do it with trepidation. But as the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe shift west, they have abruptly turned their Middle East policy upside down. Arabs are out, and Israel is in. The former bloc partners' response to the crisis in the Persian Gulf—the first real test of their post-Cold War foreign policies—reveals the hard real-

EAST EUROPE

ity of the transformed global order.

By the time the Berlin Wall fell, Arab governments were already adjusting to the new set of geopolitical realities Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov began imposing several years ago. In 1989, the Soviet Union expressly told Syria that Moscow would not bring it to military parity with Israel but would focus on a negotiated peace for the contentious region. The Soviet president began working with the U.S., with members of the European Community and with Israel, as well as with Moscow's traditional Arab allies, to foster solutions to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and other Middle East problems.

Moscow was instrumental in convincing the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) to heal the internal splits that developed in the aftermath of Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon. And—along with Sweden and other Western European governments—it encouraged the PLO to drop its emphasis on armed struggle and make the gestures that in 1988 resulted in a dialogue with Washington.

Moscow's endorsement of the U.N.-backed embargo against Iraq and its support for U.S. action in the Gulf indicate an entirely new level of cooperation with the Western powers. Not only can the U.S. now act as global policeman with impunity but it can also count on the Soviet Union's diplomatic assistance. While Gorbachov has spoken out strongly against a military solution to the conflict, he has demanded in no uncertain terms that his country's former ally withdraw from Kuwait immediately.

At the Helsinki summit last week the stakes were clear: if the Soviet Union threw its weight decisively behind the West, Bush would move to help bail out the crippled Soviet economy. Economic interests are now the first priority of Soviet foreign policy, and the Gulf crisis is just one manifestation of the sweeping changes Moscow's shift will take in the Middle East.

New diplomacy: Gorbachov's tone at the summit is the new sound of Soviet diplomacy—cautious, balanced and international in rhetoric, solidly pro-West in deed. The Soviet leader must juggle the consequences of offending Washington on the one hand and being seen as part of an anti-Arab effort on the other. Exactly how far Gorbachov will go—Soviet intelligence on Iraq is without equal in the world—remains to be seen.

At the moment, the game is to offend as few people as possible, while pushing ardently for a negotiated resolution to the crisis. Any hiatus in the rush toward war works to Moscow's advantage. The rising

8 IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 19-25, 1990



Players in the Mideast policy shuffle (clockwise from top left): Czechoslovakian President Vaclav Havel, U.S. President George Bush, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachov, former Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat.

New Mideast police for new order

price of oil on a nervous world market translates to desperately needed hard currency for Soviet oil exports. Contacts with Saddam Hussein have been kept open, and Gorbachov has positioned himself as potential mediator in the conflict.

At the same time, however, the statesman's other peace projects have run aground. The dialogue between the PLO and the U.S., suspended in June by the Bush administration, has almost certainly been killed by the PLO's decision to back Iraq. Moscow's potentially lucrative relations with Saudi Arabia, just on the verge of a breakthrough when Iraq entered Kuwait, are now on the rocks. A surge of Moslem fundamentalism sparked by a U.S. military victory could resonate with the Moslems of Soviet Central Asia, accelerating the Soviet Union's disintegration.

The open breaks with former Arab allies now clear the way for full diplomatic relations with Israel. While a rapprochement has been underway for some time, the Soviet Union's position had been that it would not renew formal ties—severed in 1967—until Israel began serious peace talks with the PLO. Now the united Arab lobby in Moscow

is divided, and the Gulf crisis claims the urgency that was before attached to the question of Palestine.

The Soviet Union and Israel have already exchanged consular delegations and have just signed a trade pact. Most portentous, though, have been the USSR's efforts to amend its emigration policy in order to qualify for Washington's most-favored nation trading status. Its decision this year to open the gates for unlimited Jewish emigration—61,000 emigrants have arrived since January, with 1 million or more expected—was a painful blow to hopes for Palestinian statehood.

Besieged by Arab protests, Gorbachov in June threatened to halt immigration if Israel settled the newcomers in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip or East Jerusalem. Israel complained loudly, and several days later, after a high-level meeting between Washington and Moscow, the Soviets assured the U.S. that the doors would not swing shut.

A recent report in an Abu Dhabi newspaper that Moscow is urging Arab states to drop their demand that a chemical-weapons ban be linked to a nuclear-arms ban—a de-

mand linked explicitly to Israel's widely reported but unacknowledged arsenal of nuclear weapons—signals another shift in the Soviet Union's alignment. In mid-August Israeli officials said they had received an invitation to visit Moscow in September to discuss arms control in the Middle East. This gives a boost to Israel, which has long sought negotiations for a regional nuclear-free zone. Arab governments have demurred, demanding that Israel first negotiate with the PLO and sign the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Money and leverage: While Gorbachov has navigated slowly, trying to find a role for the Soviet Union in the Middle East peace process, the Eastern European governments have gone full speed ahead in forging bonds with Israel. Last September Hungary re-established the diplomatic ties that it, along with all its East bloc partners but Romania, had broken in 1967. Czechoslovakia followed suit in February, along with Poland, which had exchanged consular representatives with Israel in 1986. Bulgaria announced the renewal of diplomacy in May, and Yugoslavia, several of whose republics have already sent delegations to Israel, is also making moves

in the same direction.

But Eastern Europe expects little in the way of investment from economically strapped Israel. Its embrace of Israel was largely calculated to gain good will in Washington. John P. Hannah, deputy director of research at the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, wrote in the *Los Angeles Times* last year that "the most obvious explanation [for their behavior] is money. The East Europeans ... believe, not without reason, that the road to Washington's purse strings runs through

While Gorbachov has navigated slowly, trying to find a role for the Soviet Union in the Mideast peace process, Eastern European governments have gone full speed ahead in forging bonds with Israel.

Jerusalem."

The Eastern Europeans are, nevertheless, lining up to sign cooperation agreements with Israel, which they view as a valuable source of industrial and agricultural technology—if not as a major trading partner. One such agreement, signed by Hungary, includes cooperation on a wide range of financial and cultural projects, signifying an intent to move beyond formalities to the kind of "very friendly and very close" relations predicted by then-Foreign Minister Moshe Arens, who signed the pact for Israel.

At the Tel Aviv signing in January, the Hungarian foreign minister and Israeli businessmen estimated their countries' trade turnover could rise to \$200 million within two years from the \$40 million recorded in 1989. In 1985, the countries had a trade volume of \$7 million to \$8 million. With plans in motion for a joint bank, the Israelis said that they expect Hungary to be their "key to Eastern European and Third World markets." Capital investment, they said, would come "not only from Israel but also from the West" through their international contacts.

Israel's own impetus for cultivating good relations with Eastern Europe is mainly political. It is still deeply scarred by the isolation it experienced when the East bloc and all but three African nations broke relations with it in the '60s and '70s. The promise of political bonds as much as trading opportunities has propelled Israel to establish relations with Georgia and other Soviet republics. The cooperation—on every level—will provide contacts and, perhaps, political leverage in the future.

Bad deals, bad debts: Arab governments objected to the new policies, but until Iraq invaded Kuwait, Eastern Europe had been able to have its cake and eat it too. The Gulf crisis, however, caught the Eastern Europeans off guard, forcing the new governments to take action protecting U.S. and Western interests at the expense of their own. So desperate is the need of these fragile states to stay tight with the West and to prove themselves full-fledged members of the international community that, despite the tragic implications at home, Eastern and Central Europeans fell obediently into line with the U.N. embargo, abruptly reversing years of cooperation with

Saddam Hussein. The decision must have been a painful one, as the conflict could well rack up a loss for the region equal to that forecast for the non-oil-producing states of the Middle East and Africa.

The former bloc partners had already jacked up petrol prices by between a third and a half with similar jumps planned for the fall and for January, when their Soviet oil bill—pegged to the world market—becomes due in hard currency. Grim as the forecast was with the world price at \$16 a barrel, oil prices in the high \$20s or \$30s could triple rather than double Eastern Europe's hard-currency expenditures. At \$30 a barrel, energy alone would cost Czechoslovakia 90 percent and Bulgaria 100 percent of their hard-currency income.

Eastern European nations' trial efforts to wean themselves from dependency on Moscow collapsed when the U.N. embargo was imposed on Iraq. While exchange had dropped slightly of late, the Eastern Europeans saw hopeful signs that Baghdad was shaping up into a stable trading partner, particularly for oil.

But the tables turned overnight. The billion-dollar loans that Iraq secured from Bulgaria, Romania and, in smaller sums, from the Central Europeans during the war with Iran were to be paid in crude oil. The arms deliveries that continued to provide Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and Poland with hard cash were halted when the embargo was imposed. As of July, Iraq was exporting 500,000 barrels a day to Eastern Europe—half of it to Poland—with scheduled increases in the offing. A Polish company had almost completed negotiations on a railway project with Iraq worth \$1 billion. Those debts and deals are now bad.

Eastern Europe now finds itself wholly at the mercy of its Western benefactors, who have quickly lost interest in nurse-maiding the transition of defunct economies to the global market. While the Warsaw Pact countries—Romania less so—have enthusiastically backed Washington's Gulf policy, the Polish daily *Gazeta Wyborcza* wryly suggested that Warsaw "ask the rich advocates of the blockade, particularly the U.S. and West Germany, to compensate it for part of the losses."

The disaster is not without irony. Eastern Europe's initial efforts to reorient its Middle East policies had already dealt the Palestinians a similarly devastating blow. Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland and Romania halted logistical support and arms shipments to the PLO. East Germany, at least, went a step further, handing top-secret intelligence files over to Israeli espionage agencies. The archives of the Stasi, the East German secret-police force, yielded a gold mine of information about the activities of Palestinian groups and the intelligence agencies of states like Syria.

A farewell to arms training: Also at an end is the tradition of Eastern European military courses, where, according to Israeli officials, 5,000 members of different Palestinian groups underwent training since 1973. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) offered courses in Dresden on subjects ranging from anti-aircraft missiles to counterintelligence. Czechoslovakia closed a training camp near Prague that, under the auspices of the Interior Ministry, had trained Arab radicals. In the same week the last PLO officers finished their training courses in the GDR—perhaps to join Hussein's forces—some soon-to-be-demobilized East German military officers said they would try to sign on

as mercenaries with the Saudi army.

When the state of Palestine was declared in 1988, the Eastern European nations were among the first to recognize it and raise the status of PLO diplomatic missions to embassy level. But in 1989, Poland's new government retracted the small assistance it had offered the Warsaw embassy. Polish officials said their foreign policy would be devoid of "ideology" and "opposed to any form of terrorism."

In East Germany and Hungary, Arab groups are increasingly referred to as "terrorist." With the opening of the Stasi files, which led to the arrest of eight members of the West German Red Army Faction, the PLO and the Irish Republican Army have been lumped into the same category as the violent militant-left Red Army. Hungary's objection to serving as a stopover for aircraft taking Soviet immigrants to Israel was not made on political grounds but from a fear of "Arab terrorist reprisals." It has since allowed emigration through Budapest to resume.

Politically, Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have adopted Middle East positions similar to those of Western Europe, rather than Washington's heavy tilt toward Israel. During his April visit to Israel, Havel spoke of a need to resolve the Palestinian situation, and he urged Israel to reopen Palestinian universities. Havel had earlier received PLO leader Yasir Arafat and, despite fierce Israeli objections, has not climbed down from his offer to serve as a mediator between Israel and the PLO.

The Palestinian response has been restrained, if understandably gloomy. "The deep changes in the Eastern bloc, which was our chief international ally for the past 25

years, will prevent it from playing any Middle East role for at least another five years," an aide to Arafat told reporters early this year. The aide said that the PLO would try to "build new international bridges," suggesting that these would be to Arab governments as well as to Western Europe.

The foreign-policy rethink has had mixed domestic implications. The explosion of nationalism in Eastern Europe has fanned both anti-Semitism and anti-Arabism (which, properly speaking, is also anti-Semitism). For now, the new governments are focusing on a contrite re-evaluation of the Holocaust, which their predecessors played down. Hungary, East Germany, Poland and Czechoslovakia have all repudiated their support of the 1975 U.N. resolution equating Zionism with racism.

The anti-Arab hysteria, however, has met with no similar official concern. Governments and people alike have jumped to identify Arab and Gypsy participation in the flourishing black market—the most visible expression of the free market—with mounting economic hardships. All exchange programs for Arab students have been abruptly cut off. The Arab on the street is scorned as a parasitic remnant of the old system.

The East's abandonment of the Third World is proving thorough and vicious. The ugly historical legacies of racism and nationalism are now finding expression in foreign policy. Abroad and at home, the united Europe's new victims have plenty to fear as the continent's latest chapter unfolds.

Paul Hockenos is *In These Times'* Eastern European correspondent. Jane Hunter is editor of *Israeli Foreign Affairs*.

1976 Supreme Court denies that death penalty is cruel and unusual punishment for minor's abortion.

1979 Supreme Court allows states to require parental or judicial consent for minor's abortion.

1791-1991 Bill Of Rights BICENTENNIAL CALENDAR

1978 Supreme Court holds FCC regulation of "indecent" radio broadcasts unconstitutional. Webster v. Reproductive Services upholds state law of abortions.

1810 New York court convicts striking shoemakers of conspiracy. 1925 Scopes "Monkey Trial" begins in Dayton, Tennessee. See July 21.

Anyone who savors our freedoms should have a copy. — William P. Noble, author of *Bookbanning in America*

The 1791-1991 Bill Of Rights Bicentennial Calendar chronicles the history of America's most revered document with daily historical highlights, inspiring quotations, and unforgettable reproductions. This elegant collector's item is the *only* Bill of Rights commemorative calendar available for the 1991 bicentennial year.

\$12.95 (plus \$1.50 each for postage and handling).
Three for \$39.00 (includes postage and handling).
Illinois residents add 8% sales tax.

I am enclosing \$ _____ for _____ copies of the **1791-1991 Bill Of Rights Bicentennial Calendar**.

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ ZIP _____
Mail to: **In These Times**, 2040 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, IL 60647.
(312) 772-0100 (Please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery.)

Canada

Continued from page 3

ment of an American state—even a state like New York or California. Ontario, with 9.5 million people, contains 38 percent of Canada's populace, and accounts for 40 percent of its economic output. Additionally, Ontario's financial industry—its largest city, Toronto, is the world's sixth-ranking monetary center—is controlled by the provincial government rather than the federal government.

"This election is being seen in Canada as a breakthrough for the NDP," said Marzetti. "Our previous successes have been in the West and the far North. Now we have a big win in the nation's industrial heartland."

However, the Ontario NDP currently has its hands full. Already Rae has had to con-

front the threat of capital flight. With provincial business leaders warning that New Democrat campaign pledges, if honored, could be too costly, Rae has taken a conciliatory tone.

"I know that we have to get along with each other," he told *Maclean's* magazine in a post-election interview. "We have to reach a better sense of understanding of what we are all about. The marketplace, the private sector produces jobs in this economy, and we want to make sure that it keeps on."

But his soothing words also had a sharp edge as he added, "At the same time, I feel that business has never done a terrific job of living up to its social responsibility. I know I am going to get a lot of lectures from business about the way the world works. Let me return the favor and say that if the business

community would come up with some solutions to some of the major social problems of the day, there would be grounds for a real dialogue. The view that governments can do things about poverty and social problems while business is occupied solely with its own bottom line is too narrow a vision."

With unemployment at 8.5 percent in Ontario, and the nation tottering on the brink of recession, there will clearly be limits on what the NDP can do. But there will also be strong pressures from below for the NDP, unlike the Liberals before it, to stick to its promises.

"We start off with a bonus in that we have a party structure that is very decentralized," said Marzetti. "Each riding association has representation in the party's governing body. It's gender-balanced, ethnically-balanced

and region-balanced. Also, the NDP constitution requires that the party leader be re-elected every two years, so this February, Rae will have to go before a provincial convention of 2,000 party activists to get re-elected."

Despite an apparent blackout of Ontario's "revolution" here, (see accompanying story), the U.S. left should keep an eye on Rae and the Ontario NDP across the border. After all, the first elected NDP provincial government in Saskatchewan introduced state-run health care, which now is a nation-wide system and the envy of the world. What the NDP does over the next half-decade in Ottawa and the rest of Canada may prove equally influential. □

Dave Lindorff writes regularly for *In These Times* on politics.

NO NEW VIETNAM AND NO NEW COLD WAR

Is the U.S. looking for a provocation?

The United States doesn't need 250,000 troops to defend Saudi Arabia or enforce the United Nation's sanctions. In fact, the Pentagon says *current* forces in the area can do that. There is only one purpose for a force this large—to *attack*.

But to attack—with public support—the Bush administration needs provocation. Something like Iraq taking over our embassy in Kuwait. (At the time Dick Cheney promised an "aggressive" response if "provoked" and the press was full of stories of the massive attack the Pentagon had planned.)

Or maybe one of our planes will get shot down, or at. (There have been reports that the U.S. plans to "challenge" Iraqi jets.) Or maybe one of our ships will be fired on.

Remember the Gulf of Tonkin?

No body bags for oil

This crisis is not about *access* to oil, it is about the *price* of oil. Iraq did not invade Kuwait to *hoard* oil, it invaded to *sell* oil—at a higher price. U.S. actions are an old-fashioned colonial grab for *control over raw resources*.

What is 50 cents a gallon worth? 10,000 lives? 50,000? Is controlling the price of oil worth a recession? A depression? Is it worth another Cold War—another generation of \$300-billion-a-year military budgets?

Western Europe and Japan, which are *more* dependent on Middle East oil than we are, don't think so.

Will Saudi Arabia fund the peace dividend?

Saudi Arabia is picking up much of the tab for the "incremental" costs of the U.S. forces in the region. They are *not* paying for the costs of the troops. Nor does Saudi money (which *we* help generate at the gas pump) make up for the lost Peace Dividend—the massive cuts in the Pentagon budget we *rightfully* expected *this year*.

Secretary of State Baker has already floated the idea of a permanent NATO-like presence in the Middle East. Do you really think it is just a coincidence that the end of the Cold War was followed *immediately* by another massive, long-term U.S. military commitment?

Speak out now—Remember Vietnam

The American people weren't asked if they wanted this war. Just as we weren't asked if we wanted Vietnam. George Bush and the

Pentagon learned a lesson from Vietnam—act quickly and ask for approval later.

We learned a lesson, too—we must speak out now, before it is too late.

That is why OUT NOW and the *Pledge of Resistance* have launched a *national petition campaign* calling for a pullout of U.S. troops.

We don't want to trade body bags for an oil price break. And we don't want a new Cold War robbing us of our Peace Dividend.

If you agree with this call, please sign it—and ask for petition forms to circulate among your friends. Copies will be forwarded to Congress and the President.

OUT NOW—Bring Our Troops Home

I am opposed to a war for oil

I am also opposed to the commitment of U.S. troops to the Middle East without public debate.

I call upon Congress and the President to pull out U.S. forces and to seek a peaceful solution through the United Nations and the Arab League.

SIGNATURE

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

ZIP

PHONE

- ☐ Send me extra copies of the petition so I can circulate them.
- ☐ I am enclosing a contribution of ___\$25 ___\$50 ___\$100 to help OUT NOW pay for future ads.
- ☐ Send me more information about OUT NOW and the Pledge of Resistance.

Contributions should be made payable to OUT NOW and mailed with your petition to:
OUT NOW, P.O. Box 1194, Salinas, CA 93902.

For information about Pledge actions, call the Pledge Hotline at (415) 655-1201. For information about OUT NOW petition campaign, call (718) 622-6390.

By Paul Hockenos

EAST BERLIN

AS OF MIDNIGHT OCTOBER 2, THE GERMAN Democratic Republic (GDR) will officially cease to exist. German unification will become formal and the stage will be set for the first all-German elections since the Weimar Republic.

Amid the unification frenzy and the catastrophic collapse of the GDR economy, the December 2 poll date has the Germans' beleaguered opposition forces scrambling to insure their political survival. The array of splintered left groups in East and West confronts not only the daunting task of their

GERMANY

own unifications but also the fundamental re-evaluation of their identities in the new German order.

Since the Berlin Wall fell 10 months ago, the GDR dissident groups, the reformed communist party and the West Greens have suffered a near-unbroken string of defeats at Bonn's hands. The most recent setback—the failure to delay unification and thus suspend the Federal Republic's mandatory 5 percent minimum clause for parliamentary representation—has forced shotgun marriages between East and West leftists to prevent their otherwise likely exclusion from the parliamentary process. The coalitions of necessity bear the marks of their hasty and grudging formation. Yet the two major alliances constitute the birth of potentially creative, dynamic alternatives to the stale political landscape of the past.

The factions within Germany's emergent new left are neither strangers nor friends. The once-underground democracy groups that challenged the hard-line government from the streets now find themselves locked into competition with the reformed Communist Party, now called the Party for Democratic Socialism (PDS), for similar constituencies. Soundly trounced in even the GDR elections last May, half a dozen of the East movement groups have wisely allied themselves with the Federal Republic (FRG) Greens. Given the 5 percent clause, they now stand a better chance to eliminate their old rival. But under the direction of Western socialism's new wunderkind, Gregor Gysi, the PDS has launched a Westpolitik of its own. A diverse coalition of West German socialists and a surprisingly large contingent of disillusioned radical Greens have joined forces under the PDS banner.

From the right to work to gay and lesbian initiatives, the two coalitions' election platforms read strikingly alike in content and tenor. Both advocate ecologically oriented social market economies in a demilitarized Germany. They emphasize social justice, women's and minority rights and the democratization of society. Both advocate full-scale rescue operations for the GDR economy and guaranteed equality for the country's five new eastern states. Although the PDS uses the word "socialist" and the Green-Democracy Movement (GDM) alliance explicitly attacks the PDS as the reincarnation of the old regime, both programs constitute very similar progressive alternatives to the mainstream parties.

The great divide: More than personal animosity alone, however, will ensure that the two camps remain divided for some time. The PDS' miraculous rise from the ashes of orthodox communism has more than a few people unconvinced. Only through the image of Gysi has the party been able to bounce

German unification forces leftists to unite on both sides of the border

back as remarkably as it has. With wit and charm, the flashy young lawyer conveys a fresh socialist vision that would be hard to mistake for the old party line. On talk shows he philosophizes in the best tradition of Marxist humanism. In parliament his rhetorical brilliance leaves his archfoes spellbound.

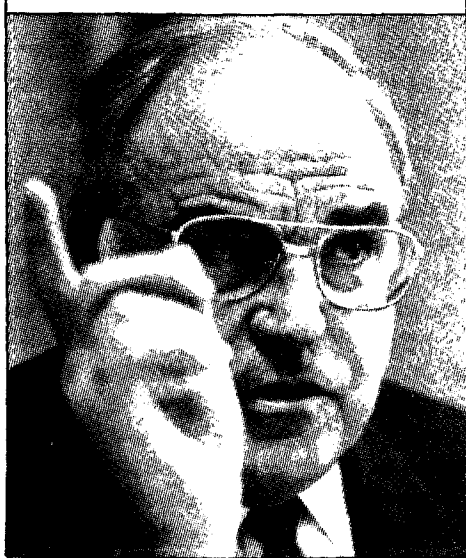
Those beneath Gysi, however, have been slower to adjust. Many of the former apparatchiks and obedient party faithful simply turned to Gysi as an ersatz authority figure. Their conservative values persist in an anti-modern *Weltanschauung* that clings stubbornly to the traditional values of the old system. Their critique of capitalism in the new-and-improved party newspaper, still named *Neues Deutschland*, remains somewhat crude and flat. As PDS study groups diligently acquaint themselves with concepts as foreign as modern sexual politics, the younger generation of GDR oppositionists have sought enlightenment elsewhere. Only 8 percent of the PDS membership is under 30, while more than half is over 60.

A generation younger than the toppled old guard, the PDS leadership consists of former Communist Party members who were critical to different degrees during the dictatorship. Parliament member Elja Seifert, 42, represents the new direction. Confined to a wheelchair, the congenial art historian had worked as a middle-level bureaucrat in the state-run Berlin House for Cultural Work. Now in charge of disabled issues for PDS, he stresses that only the PDS explicitly "calls itself left, socialist and anti-capitalist. The other groups won't say that." Dressed casually in jeans and a sweater at the parliament building, he argues that socialism itself cannot be abandoned because of "the very serious mistakes that have been made in its name."

Shot in the arm: In their new alliance partner, the Left List (LL), the PDS has received additional credibility. Personalities and leaders from a number of West German left circles have temporarily set aside their own decades-long quarrels to throw in their lot with the struggling party. Reports of fresh defections from the radical *fundi* wing of the FRG Greens indicates the clear realignment in progress.

The PDS' unity gives the West socialists their first real chance to gain parliamentary representation, explains Seifert. "They offer us the experience of the West European left since 1968. Since we so ignorantly cut our-

West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl



Gregor Gysi of East Germany's Party for Democratic Socialism

selves off from all new ideas for so long, the West left is theoretically far advanced over us."

The Green-led coalition encompasses a spectrum of political ideologies almost as different from one another as they are from PDS-LL. The six East German groups—New Forum, Democracy Now, the United Left, the East Greens, the Initiative for Peace and

These coalitions of necessity bear the mark of their hasty and grudging formation. Yet they constitute the birth of potentially dynamic alternatives to the stale political landscape of the past.

Human Rights, and the Independent Women's Alliance—range from anarcho-Marxists to centrist human-rights advocates. The common theme is their roots in underground resistance and uncompromising opposition to the state's monopoly on power. With the exception of the GDR Greens, none of the groups is a party or party-oriented. Rather, they emphasize their origins as anti-party movement organizations committed to grassroots democracy and participatory forms of civil society.

As phenomena of different political cultures, the East activists and West Greens face a forbidding set of problems. In their favor, both traditions share a similar heritage in the peace and human-rights movements of the early '80s. The former dissidents' creative ideas and aversion to dogmatism could provide a healthy counterweight to the stalled Greens. But while they see eye to eye on most political issues, they address the specific problems of their own societies with different goals and methodologies.

The dissident groups' political categories stem mainly from their resistance to and overthrow of the GDR government. The West Greens, on the other hand, have for a decade been part of a political system that they rec-

ognize as legal and legitimate. The East Germans' success on the streets went unmatched when they entered parliament and found a drastically more formidable opponent in FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Although the GDR groups have since tilted more toward an electoral politics, some object strongly to the mainstream shift within the West Green Party and the possibility of a ruling coalition with the Social Democrats.

Summer of their discontent: Forced now into the Western world of parliamentary politics and "left-wing opposition," the Easters' inexperience puts them at a disadvantage. "The Westis have their line down so cold they think there's nothing we can add," complained a member of the United Left.

The Greens unwillingness to enter a serious dialogue with the movement groups as equal partners has provoked a torrent of discontent. In contrast to the West Germans' specific political agenda, the democracy groups insist that the broader expansion of GDR civil society is necessary before such issues can be tackled by the people.

The Greens' roots in the student movement inform a modern left politics that some of the GDR activists distrust. Democracy Now and New Forum, for example, reject the label "left" for its association with the Communist government. "The whole traditional left-right schema is just no longer valid," argues Ludwig Mehlhorn, a co-founder of Democracy Now. "The coalition would be a lot better off if those Greens, with their old 1968 illusions, simply joined the PDS." The East Germans' fuzzy grasp of real *existierende Kapitalismus* leave them somewhat out of step on such issues as refugee policy, the drug problem and homelessness.

Whatever the obstacles, the chaotic mergers may prove a blessing for the left opposition. The coalitions' partners have finally seized the opportunity to form a qualitatively new German entity from the two Germanies. However much Kohl's heavy-handed *Anschlusspolitik* denies the reality of a GDR identity and specific East German interests, the incorporation of 16 million people with 40 years of GDR socialization is certain to affect the shape of the single republic.

The recent wave of strikes and protests in response to unemployment and the elimination of social policies reveals the persistence of a GDR consciousness no longer blinded by the glimmer of the Deutschemark. As Bonn's economic policies become increasingly transparent, the crowds at Kohl's campaign rallies in Brandenburg and Thuringa dwindle in size. The very real danger exists, however, that the East's victims will embrace a form of right-wing populism rather than the left's eco-intellectuals or Communist Party reformers.

Perhaps most overlooked in the pre-election flurry is that the Germanies' unification equals more than the sum of its parts. The new German opposition must now approach its united nation-state in its de facto role as a world economic and political power. The left's East-West breakthrough is also the first step in dissolving the political stereotypes that have ossified in Western Europe. With international status, it might be the German experiments that snap the Western left from its malaise. □

IN THESE TIMES SEPT. 19-25, 1990 11

A parallel state: U.S. AID drains Costa Rican democracy

By Jim McNeill

IN LAST FEBRUARY'S COSTA RICAN ELECTIONS, George Bush's 1988 media handler, Roger Ailes, boosted conservative presidential candidate Rafael Calderon Fournier to a slim victory over his Liberacion Party opponent—who unwisely relied on a political strategist from the U.S. Democratic Party.

Calderon, standard-bearer for the Union of Social Christian Parties (PUSC), also benefited from a controversial \$433,000 grant from the U.S.-funded National Endowment for Democracy (NED). Although the NED's charter specifically forbids the funding of partisan political groups, that grant—channeled through the Republican Party's international institute—went to a political “research” association directed by Calderon and staffed by members of the PUSC. (See *In These Times*, March 21, 1990).

Predictably, the association's magazine lavished praise on Calderon and the PUSC, reserving its scorn for Liberacion, the party of Nobel peace prize winner and former President Oscar Arias. In the magazine's most celebrated issue, Calderon—who unsuccessfully challenged Arias for the presidency in 1986—criticized the Nobel laureate's Central American peace plan as a “deformation of masculine values and the defense of our national sovereignty.”

While Arias' foreign policy failed the right-wing's virility test, it was his domestic economic policies—consisting of painful austerity measures designed to trim Costa Rica's enormous national debt—that provoked broader concern that Arias was sacrificing Costa Rican sovereignty to foreign lenders and development agencies.

This concern has obsessed Costa Ricans, who—historically spared the disfiguring poverty of other Central American countries—have found themselves confronting the terrifying and unfamiliar plight of their isthmian neighbors. Costa Rica, swallowed by the debt crisis of the early '80s, saw its per-capita gross domestic product drop 30 percent in three years. Today, living standards for Costa Rica's 2.9 million citizens remain 15 percent below 1979 levels.

A spoonful of sugar: Although U.S. support for Costa Rica—Central America's sole stable democracy—ballooned during the '80s, that support came with numerous ideological strings attached. Over the last decade, the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), the State Department's foreign-aid branch, dispensed more than \$1.3 billion to Costa Rica, primarily in an effort to bolster its flagging private sector.

While AID's private-sector support allowed some undeniably wasteful government programs to wither, Costa Ricans com-

plained that AID's policies cut an indiscriminate swath through Central America's most comprehensive social safety net—which since the '40s had provided Costa Ricans with an impressive array of educational, medical and retirement benefits.

And as Costa Rica's public sector contracted, many feared that Arias was forfeiting crucial governmental power to the nation's business elite—a group increasingly subservient to foreign multinational corporations, whose lobbyists helped AID formulate and implement its private-sector initiatives in Costa Rica.

Upon assuming office in 1986, Arias inherited an economy burdened with one of the highest per-capita national debts in the world—an economy whose direction had been largely determined during the global depression of the early '80s.

Squeezed by the declining prices for its exports, primarily coffee and bananas, and the increasing cost of its imports, especially petroleum, Costa Rica borrowed heavily in the late '70s and early '80s in an attempt to sustain its generous social safety net. But as the depression took hold, Costa Rica's debt sky-rocketed. In 1981, it became the first Latin American country to suspend its debt payments.

With the Sandinistas in neighboring Nicaragua and Ronald Reagan in the White House, U.S. AID—more often a geopolitical weapon

than a philanthropic arm of U.S. policy—moved quickly to bolster Costa Rica's economy with massive doses of free-market medicine.

In an October 1988 *Los Angeles Times* editorial, journalist Martha Honey noted that AID assistance to Costa Rica in 1978—one year before the Sandinista revolution—totaled only \$2 million. But by 1985, Costa Rica was receiving more than \$221 million from the agency. And from 1983 to 1987, at the height of the contra war, Costa Rica received more than \$1 billion, making it the second-largest per capita recipient of AID funds in the world.

Even in 1986 as then-President Arias angered U.S. officials by ejecting the contras from Costa Rica's northern frontier with Nicaragua, he was dutifully implementing a series of AID-backed austerity measures. As Arias pared the Costa Rican public sector, AID continued to create and finance a host of “private” agricultural, educational and financial institutions that duplicated the functions and usurped the power of many Costa Rican government agencies.

Among the most powerful of these private institutions has been the Costa Rican Coalition for Development Initiatives (CINDE)—an AID-funded private-sector development group organized by Caribbean/Central American Action (C/CAA), a U.S. association of multinationals that worked closely with the Carter and Reagan administrations in formulating “free enterprise” initiatives for the region.

CINDE, acting independently from the Costa Rican government, has aggressively promoted C/CAA's development strategy—which relies on investment by multinational corporations to boost Costa Rica's economy (see accompanying story). Although CINDE has lured new manufacturers to Costa Rica, many Costa Ricans fear that CINDE and its AID-supported “private sector” siblings have grown so numerous and powerful that they now act as a virtual “parallel state.”

According to Otton Solis, an economist and former minister in the Arias government who resigned to protest indiscriminate privatization, “the creation of all these parallel institutions has undermined the very basis of our democracy.”

“In a democracy, if there are public funds, then there should always be public bodies controlling the expenditure of those funds,” Solis told *In These Times*. “But through AID, particularly over the last decade, millions and millions of dollars have entered a shadow government that is exempt from the democratic controls to which public funds are normally subjected.”

Breaking the bank: Solis views AID's manipulation of Costa Rica's government-owned Central Bank as perhaps the most devastating aspect of its intervention in Costa Rica. From 1983 to 1987, when AID's funding was at its peak, AID parked its money in a special account in the Central Bank, where it earned 21 percent interest. During those five years, the strained Costa Rican Central Bank—already reeling from payments on the nation's \$4 billion foreign debt—paid AID more than \$100 million in interest on its special account.

And while AID depleted the Central Bank's reserves with its special account, it simultaneously strengthened the portfolios of the Central Bank's private-sector competitors, providing them with zero-interest or near zero-interest loans. Between 1982 and 1987, the state banking system lost 20 percent of its financial business to the private sector.

To Solis, this shift was tragic. “The secret of Costa Rican democracy,” he said, “was

CINDE: a ‘well-oiled job-stealing machine’ paid for by U.S. taxpayers

By all accounts, the Costa Rican Coalition for Development Initiatives (CINDE)—a private-sector development group funded by the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID)—has played a major role in reshaping Costa Rica's economy. According to its own statistics, CINDE since 1984 has created more than 32,000 jobs—primarily in the fields and factories of foreign multinationals drawn to Costa Rica by CINDE's export promotion program. These 32,000 jobs (equivalent to 2.8 million jobs in the U.S. economy) represent more than \$353 million in new investment for Costa Rica.

According to AID officials, CINDE's achievement is a shining example of how Caribbean Basin nations can use foreign investors to diversify and expand their moribund economies. Sustained growth in the region's private sector, AID argues, will finally relieve it from dependence on U.S. handouts.

But one ex-CINDE official, who enticed investors from a CINDE office in the U.S., says the investment CINDE attracts is hardly diverse and threatens to leave Costa Ricans more dependent on the U.S., not less.

In fact, 60 percent of all CINDE-created jobs are in low-skill, low-wage apparel assembly—an industry far more interested in maintaining Costa Rica's \$1-an-hour minimum wage than in sustaining the country's still enviable but deteriorating social safety net.

According to the former official, CINDE's policies encourage a “new form of dependence” in which Costa Rica sacrifices a dynamic internal economy to establish itself as a low-wage, offshore haven for companies seeking to cheaply service the American market. The success of this strategy depends heavily on U.S. trade preferences—which give Costa Rica privileged access to the U.S. market. It also depends on the sycophantic skills of CINDE's “investment officers”—who lure American executives to San Jose's five-star hotels, seeking their favors over a game of golf.

The ex-official explained how “CINDE's investment officers look through the Dun and Bradstreet listings of American corporations, pinpointing labor-intensive manufacturers in the U.S. Once they've targeted a manufacturer, a CINDE rep calls the firm and sends them a packet of promotional literature.”

A typical CINDE brochure informs foreign executives that Costa Rica has “the longest regular work week—48 hours—in the area.” And instead of dealing with contentious unions, investors are promised that in Costa Rica “employer-sponsored workers' associations are the norm.”

CINDE is, in the words of the ex-investment officer, “just a well-oiled job-stealing machine—maintained and financed by U.S. taxpayer dollars.”

The job-stealing schemes of CINDE and

other U.S.-supported “development” agencies have grown so brazen that even the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)—the AFL-CIO's quivering contributor to the U.S.' Cold War labor policy in Latin America—has begun expressing its doubts.

“Industry and decent jobs are leaving our country because of [current] investment policies and... business decisions,” complained the AIFLD's executive director, William Doherty. “The interests of banks and multinational corporations are not necessarily equal to the broader national interest,” Doherty reminded a gathering of the Social Democrats U.S.A.

Doherty neglected to mention that the AIFLD was instrumental in suppressing the union movements in Costa Rica and elsewhere that could have offered principled opposition to the narrow corporate interests that have long been busy funneling decent jobs to slave-wage havens.

In 1987, even AID acknowledged that CINDE had perhaps grown overzealous in its efforts to strengthen Costa Rica's free market. A report issued by AID's inspector general in Washington revealed that CINDE was disbursing AID funds to high-ranking Costa Rican government officials and, in fine American fashion, was awarding valuable contracts to close friends and business associates of CINDE executives.

—J.M.

the egalitarian distribution of credit. With a strong state bank, you guaranteed that credit was given to the small lender. But with a private bank, you're pushing for the economies of scale, for the highest possible profit. When your only aim is profit, there's very little incentive to deal with the high overhead loans to the small farmer."

Indeed, during the '80s, Costa Rica tightened credit and slashed subsidies for small farmers—the traditional producers of domestically consumed basic grains—and, with AID's encouragement, shifted government support to large-scale agro-industries, whose exports provide the foreign currency needed to service the nation's debt. Predictably, Costa Rica's corn, rice and bean yields dropped precipitously, and the fortunes of its small, basic-grain farmers sagged with them.

Despite the new revenue generated from government support for exporters, Costa Rica has been unable to close its trade deficit or reduce its foreign debt. In 1989, after years of devotion to AID's export programs, Costa Rica's national debt jumped 9.8 percent to \$4.5 billion, its highest level ever. In his study of Costa Rica for Albuquerque's Inter-Hemispheric Education Resource Center, Tom Barry notes that cash expended on importing pesticides and fertilizer for agro-exporters, as well as raw materials and components for multinational manufacturers, may be exhausting the foreign-currency reserves those exports earn in the world market.

Stay behind to get ahead: While AID's free-market philosophy has proven liberating for a select group of foreign multinationals as well as the well-heeled Costa Rican elites who attracted them, other beneficiaries are harder to find. During the '80s, Costa Rica adopted an increasingly regressive tax system—further widening the gulf between the nation's rich and poor. Tellingly,

Many fear that AID-supported private sector organizations have grown so numerous and powerful that they now act as a virtual "parallel state."

both malnutrition and obesity are currently on the rise in Costa Rica. Similar troubles have plagued countries throughout Central America and the Caribbean—the supposed beneficiaries of AID's Caribbean Basin programs.

Of course, these numbers do not necessarily undermine the logic of AID's Caribbean Basin development philosophy, which relies on the region's cheap labor force to attract foreign investors. Enriching those workers—by raising minimum wages and shifting government expenditures from export-oriented infrastructure to domestic social services—could blunt the region's appeal to low-wage-seeking multinational capital.

As one AID official, who asked not to be identified, explained, "the Caribbean Basin has a comparative advantage in terms of its labor rates"—i.e., the region's strength lies in the poverty of its workers. "We have to play to that strength," he said.

Of course, such a blunt, technocratic prescription for the region's ailing economy lacks the disembodied elegance preferred by the executives and lobbyists of America's multinationals, who see themselves as diviners, not manipulators, of the market economy's "hidden hand."

In a telephone interview with *In These Times*, Jack Whiting, director of governmen-

tal affairs for C/CAA, one of the most influential advocates for multinationals active in the Caribbean Basin, perfectly expressed the neoclassical logic of his set. Whiting blamed a lack of market discipline—not a skewed distribution of wealth—for the poverty afflicting the Caribbean basin.

The region's depressed economy "results from the failure of governments to open up additional opportunities for competition in the market," Whiting said. "The key word in today's economy is competition—between regions, between countries, between corporations. That's the reality. It's called the marketplace."

Whiting should know. His group has fiercely promoted—if not shaped—the region's current "reality." Since its formation as the Committee for the Caribbean in 1977, C/CAA has been a key architect of U.S. policies that have lured private capital to the region with promises of cheap labor and pliant governments.

Widening circles: Initially, the Committee for the Caribbean was the pet project of Tesoro Petroleum President Robert West, a conservative Republican whose Texas-based company had substantial drilling interests in Trinidad. Operating in the early Carter years, West quickly mastered the art of bipartisan consensus. With the aid of prominent Democrats Andrew Young and then-Lt. Gov. of California Mervyn Dymally (now a leading member of the Congressional Black Caucus), the committee secured the Carter administration's support. The installation of Peter Johnson, a career State Department official from the Bureau of Inter-American Affairs, as executive director in March 1979 further heightened the committee's profile.

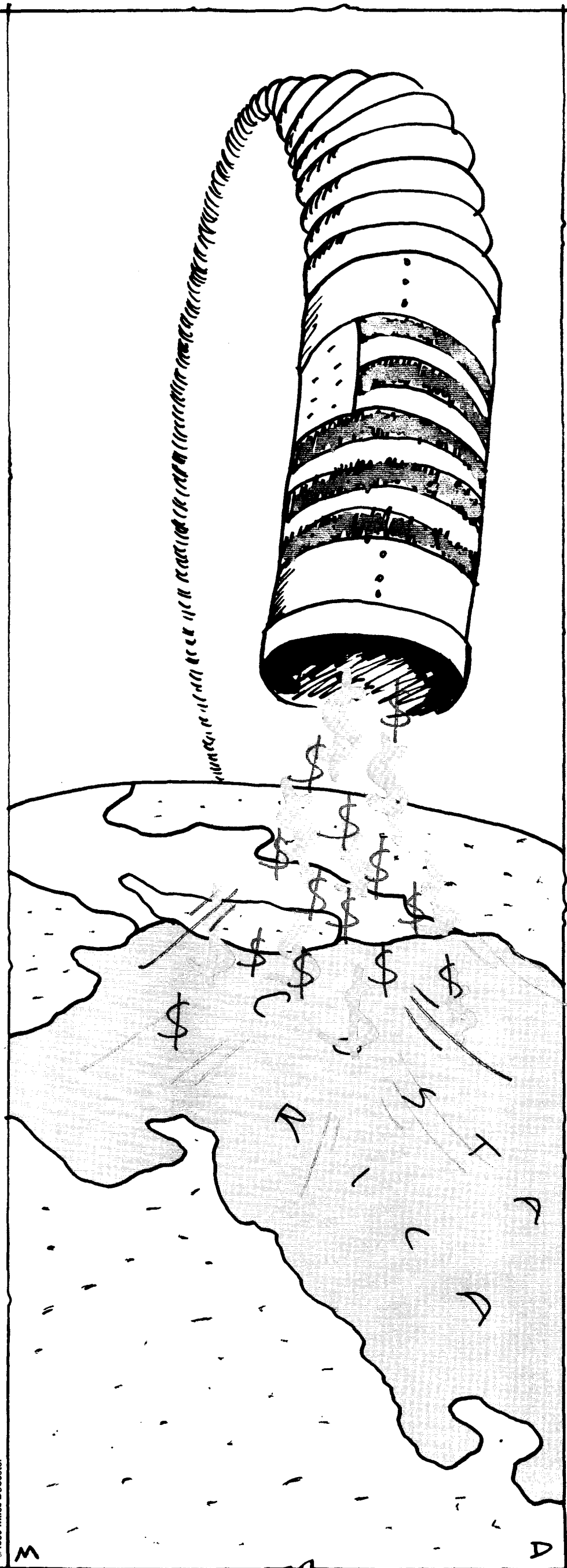
In late 1979, with the Sandinistas rising and Central America's capitalist outposts crumbling, Jimmy Carter's National Security Council called on the Committee for the Caribbean to help bolster private enterprise throughout the Caribbean Basin. The NSC encouraged the committee to expand its focus from the Caribbean islands to include Central America, and in April 1980 the committee enthusiastically complied—renaming itself Caribbean/Central American Action.

"The new organization [C/CAA] remained a non-governmental effort, but it was launched with a strong endorsement from [then-President Carter], with a meeting in the Cabinet Room and a reception in the East Room of the White House," recalled West at a 1989 C/CAA board meeting. "Immediately the board and mandate were expanded in scope—and financial support doubled."

With Ronald Reagan's victory in 1981, C/CAA's support and influence again expanded. After meeting with incoming Vice President George Bush, C/CAA played a key role in organizing the private-sector development agencies that would prove so crucial in implementing Ronald Reagan's 1983 Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI).

In 1982, C/CAA's Johnson set out to sow the seeds of CBI. Accompanied by Julio Matheu—a prominent Guatemalan industrialist (and later minister of the economy under the notorious Rios Montt government)—Johnson approached the Caribbean Basin's business elites and, dangling promises of AID funding, encouraged them to form local private-sector development associations able to attract investors seeking the privileged access to U.S. markets that CBI's trade preferences would provide.

Continued on page 22



EDITORIAL

IN THESE TIMES

"...with liberty and justice for all"

Editor: James Weinstein
 Managing Editor: Sheryl Larson
 Senior Editors: Patricia Aufderheide, John B. Judis, David Moberg, Salim Muwakkil
 Assistant Managing Editors: Glenora Croucher, Kira Jones
 Culture Editor: Jeff Reid
 European Editor: Diana Johnstone
 New York Editor: Daniel Lazare
 In Person Editor: Joel Bleifuss
 In Short Editor: Glenora Croucher
 Etc. Editor: Kira Jones
 Contributing Editor: Peter Karman
 West Coast Correspondent: Gary Rivlin
 Eastern Europe Correspondent: Paul Hockenos
 Copy Editor: Mary Nick-Bisgaard
 Editorial Promotions: Gregory L. Walker
 Researcher: Jim McNeill

Art Director: Miles DeCoster
 Associate Art Director: Peter Hannan
 Assistant Art Director: Lisa Weinstein
 Production Assistant: Terry LaBan
 Typesetter: Jim Rinnert

Publisher: James Weinstein
 Associate Publisher: Beth Schulman
 Co-Business Managers: Louis Hirsch, Finance
 Kevin O'Donnell, Data Processing Accounting
 Advertising Director: Bruce Embrey
 Office Manager: Theresa Nutall

Circulation Director: Chris D'Arpa
 Assistant Director: Greg Kilbane
 Phone Renewal Services: Vicki Broadnax

Concert Typographers: Sheryl Hybert

In These Times believes that to guarantee our life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, Americans must take greater control over our nation's basic economic and foreign policy decisions. We believe in a socialism that fulfills rather than subverts the promise of American democracy, where social needs and rationality, not corporate profit and greed, are the operative principles. Our pages are open to a wide range of views, socialist and nonsocialist, liberal and conservative. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the authors and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

(ISSN 0160-5992)

Published 41 times a year: weekly except the first week of January, first week of March, last week of November, last week of December; bi-weekly in June through the first week in September by Institute for Public Affairs, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647, (312) 772-0100

Member: Alternative Press Syndicate

The entire contents of *In These Times* are copyright © 1990 by Institute for Public Affairs, and may not be reproduced in any manner, either in whole or in part, without permission of the publisher. Copies of *In These Times* contract with the National Writers Union are available upon request. Complete issues of *In These Times* are available from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI. Selected articles are available on 4-track cassette from Freedom Ideas International, 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217. All rights reserved. *In These Times* is indexed in the Alternative Press Index. Publisher does not assume liability for unsolicited manuscripts or material. Manuscripts or material unaccompanied by stamped, self-addressed envelope will not be returned. All correspondence should be sent to: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647. Subscriptions are \$34.95 a year (\$59 for institutions; \$47.95 Canada & Mexico; \$67.95 overseas). Advertising rates sent on request. Back issues \$3; specify volume and number. All letters received by *In These Times* become property of the newspaper. We reserve the right to print letters in condensed form. Second-class postage paid at Chicago, IL and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to *In These Times*, 1912 Debs Ave., Mt. Morris, IL 61054. This issue (Vol. 14, No. 35) published Sept. 19, 1990, for newsstand sales Sept. 19-25, 1990.



'IT'S THAT COP AGAIN, TRYING TO SELL US TICKETS TO THE POLICEMEN'S BALL!'

America's allies: ingrates or savants?

An embarrassing paradox haunts the Bush administration's claim that it rushed 100,000 American troops to Saudi Arabia to protect our oil supplies and those of Western Europe and Japan: The countries our president tells us are most threatened seem to feel no need to join in, or even support this military exercise. No industrialized nation—not even our “most loyal” British ally—has sent more than token forces to the Mideast. And the two wealthiest and most energy-dependent nations, Germany and Japan, have offered almost nothing to help defray the costs of a \$2 billion-a-month adventure that was allegedly taken in large part on their behalf. Japan has offered only \$1 billion—in the form of four-wheel-drive off-road vehicles, food, medical supplies and refrigeration equipment. The Germans have offered nothing.

Sen. John McCain (R-AZ) is incensed by this response. It's “not even mere tokenism, but an insult,” he says. “What we need from Japan is their recognition that American boys are risking their lives for Japanese interests as well as our own.” Rep. John Dingell (D-MI), who heads the House Energy and Commerce Committee, is equally outraged by those nations that prefer to “sit on the sidelines hoping to reap at American expense the windfall profit of a secure and stable world oil supply.” He wants to impose a 20 percent duty on the goods of countries that don't pay their share.

And it's not only industrialized countries that seem less than enthusiastic about the military buildup on the Saudi-Kuwait border. “There's something missing here,” says Sen. Sam Nunn (D-GA), the military contractors' guardian angel. “Why can't we get Arab forces on the ground with heavy equipment? What's missing?” he asks.

The answer, of course, is that these countries seem to know something that the American people do not yet realize. They see an American president talking about international cooperation against a destabilizing aggressor, but pursuing a policy designed for narrow nationalist ends. They support sanctions against Iraq, but they don't show enthusiasm for Bush's use of the current crisis to establish what he hopes will be a permanent military presence in the Mideast.

Japan, Germany and the other nations holding back are not worried about oil. They know that Hussein is as eager as all other Mideast rulers to maximize profits from his oil reserves, and that he plans to do that by selling all he can for \$25-\$30 per barrel. But they may well be worried by Bush's plan for what he calls—in language reminiscent of Adolph Hitler—a “New World Order.”

For the administration, the crisis is a welcome opportunity to use American military power to reestablish a world domination that can no longer be attained by economic or political means. Now that the

Cold War is over and the Soviet Union is absorbed in trying to restructure its economy, American military expansion and adventures have become safe—or so Bush and his advisers seem to think. They do not envision a new world order in which the United Nations plays a central role, but one in which the United States unabashedly plays world policeman. “Our interests,” which is to say the interests of American multinational corporations, will be protected when and where Bush and his friends find it necessary or convenient. And that is why international support for our Saudi caper requires arm twisting even to get it in token amounts.

ACTION ALERT: Sneak attack in Congress

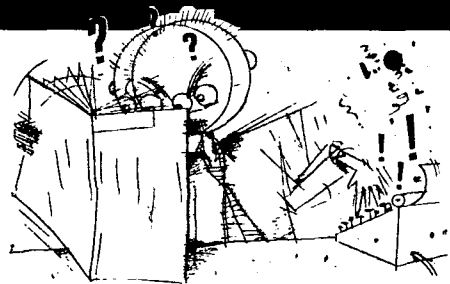
On August 3, while public attention focused on Saddam Hussein's Kuwait grab, the Senate approved a provision that would legalize the president's power to conduct covert operations without the advice and consent of Congress. The language, embodied in Title VII of the 1991 authorization bill for intelligence agencies, was ignored by the media. Described as a reform that regulates secret operations, the provision would legalize actions such as those taken by the Reagan administration involving secret aid to the contras. Despite the end of the Cold War, the Senate version of the bill would establish covert operations as a permanent instrument of Bush's New World Order.

Title VII of the Senate bill includes these provisions:

- For the first time, it gives the president express authority to conduct covert operations.
- It denies Congress the authority to forbid a covert operation in advance.
- It empowers the president to use any federal agency or entity—not just the CIA—to conduct covert operations.
- It gives the president authority to fund covert operations with money appropriated for any federal agency.
- It allows the president to use private contractors and foreign governments to do its dirty work, and to spend money from private and foreign sources.
- It allows the president to withhold information from Congress with the claim of executive privilege or the claim of extraordinary sensitivity.

The Title VII provisions are not included in the House version of the bill, which may have passed the House by the time this issue of *In These Times* appears. When the House version passes, the bill will go to conference, where a committee will meet in secret to decide on its final form. If the House members hold out, Title VII could be defeated. But this will happen only if our representatives hear from their constituents. Time is short.

LETTERS



Surprise

I WAS SURPRISED THAT YOUR "OVERKILL" EDITORIAL (ITT, Aug. 29) did not point out the connection between the current crisis in the Gulf and the Reagan-Carter activities described in *October Surprise* by Barbara Honegger. Your early article by Honegger, "Did Reagan steal the 1980 election?" (ITT, June 24, 1987) and the Richard Brenneke sequel (ITT, Oct. 12, 1988) were impressive scoops. The events described in *October Surprise* give convincing evidence that Reagan and Bush bear a major responsibility for Iraq's crushing \$80 billion debt burden, the major force for Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Iraq's war with Iran was over control of the Shatt al Arab waterway, Iraq's only outlet to the Gulf, and Hussein had good reason to count on a short war. When Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980, according to Iran's commander in chief, the country had only five to 10 days' worth of military supplies to fight a war, and most experts thought Iraq would win quickly.

President Carter placed an embargo on arms shipments to the belligerents, but Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin had other ideas. In an effort to exhaust two hostile states by prolonging the war, Begin immediately sent a planeload of spare parts for Iran's air force and informed Carter only after the fact (a violation of our aid agreement).

As election day approached, the Reagan-Bush team knew that if Carter got the 52 hostages back he would win; to prevent this, the Reagan-Bush team made a deal with Iran. Iran promised to hold the hostages until the inauguration, and Reagan promised to send arms to Iran when elected. The hostages were released minutes after the inauguration, and President Reagan sent many billions of dollars of arms to Iran, starting in 1981, some through Israel, some direct and some from draw-downs of NATO supplies.

With this massive supply of arms from the U.S., Iran took the upper hand in the war. Alarmed at the prospect of Khomeini becoming dominant in the Gulf, the U.S. threw its support to Iraq until the war ended in 1988 in a virtual stalemate, with both nations heavily in debt and some 2 million dead. This is how Iraq came to have an \$80 billion debt, a crushing burden on 17 million people that made Hussein take his desperate gamble.

The account of the subversion of the 1980 election by the Reagan-Bush campaign team is described in great detail by Barbara Honegger in *October Surprise*. George Bush, former CIA director, was a key figure through a network of CIA agents, active and retired. Honegger's account is corroborated by Abolhassan Bani Sadr, now living in Paris, who was president of Iran in 1980. It is also corroborated by Mansur Rafizadeh in his book *Witness*. Rafizadeh, for 16 years SAVAK chief in the U.S., with channels both to Iran and the CIA, confirms Honegger's assertion that much of the CIA was loyal to Reagan, not President Carter, in 1980.

Alan Rhodes
Willoughby, Ohio

Kristolschlock

THE RATIONALES BEING OFFERED IN THE OBE-
dient media to justify American military intervention in the Middle East are crass and cynical, even bizarre. For example, the neoconservative Irving Kristol (the *Washington Post*, Aug. 22) affirms that, since we now are the only superpower, it behooves us "to perform a policing role when, in our judgment, it is in our national interest to do so." This means that because we are uniquely powerful, we have the right to use military force abroad whenever we please—or, in short, might makes right.

George Will (*Newsweek*, Sept. 10) maintains that when international law is an obstacle to doing what America considers necessary in the world, it should be ignored. Furthermore, he continues, international law does not exist, or at least has no binding force, because it lacks an enforcement mechanism. As he quips with an airy anagram, "Law without a sword is mere words." The sword is in the hands of America—that is all that matters.

In their contempt for the ordinary opinion of mankind, such rationales recall the spirit of '30s fascism. Even a George Orwell peeking at the current scene from his grave would find them incredible.

Louvan Nolting
Lewes, Del.

Advocacy is in the eye of the beholder

CALL ME NAIVE, BUT I CAN'T HELP BUT BE SHOCKED when I see the liberal-to-left press reinforcing the marginalization of perfectly legitimate reporting and opinion.

Karen Rosenberg (ITT, Aug. 1) seems to think it's such a generous bone to throw for mainstream media critics to "recognize" the PBS series *P.O.V.* as "advocacy journalism" and, therefore, to refrain from attacking the facts or analysis of those filmmakers.

Aw, c'mon folks. What about the *MacNeil Lehrer NewsHour*? Or the *McLaughlin Group*? Or *Washington Week in Review*? Or *This Week with Granddad*? Am I just a crazed ideologue, or do these shows trot out a seemingly endless guest list of white, male, conservative current or former government officials? No advocacy of any certain interests there, eh?

No, we're expected to swallow the myth of these media institutions' impartiality right along with the AT&T and General Electric jingles.

Well, no more! It's time for your publication to name names and tell it like it is: it's fine for the left to eke out a "dissenting"

opinion or two every now and then—as long as those opinions are trivialized by the "advocacy" label. Defining news coverage, analysis and debate in so-called "centrist terms" is bought and paid for by corporate and government interests—and legitimacy is conferred by omission of the same "advocacy" label.

Henry M. Hughes
Oakland, Calif.

Analogies

ALEXANDER COCKBURN (ITT, AUG. 29) EXPRESSES understanding for those Arabs who sympathize with Iraq, since the U.S. "did nothing to stop the 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon" and "has done nothing about the bloody occupation of the West Bank."

The analogy is inaccurate and unfair. Israel sent its troops into Lebanon in response to continuous terrorist raids by Palestine Liberation Organization forces in Lebanon. Israel's presence in the West Bank—regardless of what one thinks of its present policies—is the result of Jordan's participation in the pan-Arab invasion of Israel in 1967.

If Iraq had occupied Kuwait because terrorists were using bases in Kuwait to launch attacks on Iraq, or because Kuwait had participated in a pan-Arab invasion of Iraq, its action might be understandable.

But one thing should be clear: Iraq's takeover of Kuwait is an act of unprovoked aggression, while Israel's presence in Lebanon and the West Bank has been motivated by self-defense.

Bertram Korn Jr.

Executive Director, Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America, Philadelphia

Costly war

THE COST OF THE MARION BARRY CASE WILL range from \$8 million to over \$23 million, just for the eight-year investigation. Including the trial costs, the total bill could be more than \$30 million.

Isn't it time that the average taxpayer asks if we really want to spend millions of dollars to prevent a person from using something that harms no one but himself? There must be taxpayer backlash against the use of 30-plus agents conspiring to bust one man in a hotel room, especially a mayor who is not armed and dangerous. Couldn't a team of two or three guys have handled the operation?

Consider my case. I was sentenced to two years and given a \$10,000 fine for importing smoking pipes, along with leather goods and handicrafts from India and other countries for 17 years. My nine-months pregnant wife and I picked up our shipment of pipes and handicrafts from U.S. Customs in Col-

umbus, Ohio, as we had done for 17 years. But this time we were followed by two carloads of federal agents all day in Columbus and 70 miles back to our home. An hour after coming home we had 25 to 30 agents from Columbus, Cleveland and Athens standing on our front porch reading us the riot act. When they claimed to have a search warrant, the agent in charge could not produce it, saying, "I must have left it in the trunk." That was the code phrase to charge into our house, guns drawn, and surround my wife in the children's bedroom, where she was putting two other children to bed.

Our van was confiscated for carrying the shipment of handicrafts the U.S. Customs legally cleared and gave to us. Most of my pipe inventory was taken from my warehouse, although they did leave 4,500 pipes behind that were no different from the ones they took. I was thrown in jail and, when my time came before the judge, I was accused by the judge of "destroying the lives of hundreds and thousands of children across America" with my pipes.

My business has been destroyed, our property is being taken from us (that which has not already been confiscated), we are forced into bankruptcy proceedings, and a business that operated legitimately for 17 years, paid taxes and caused no harm to anyone has been turned from a net financial benefit to the government into a total loss. The government has spent \$150,000 to \$200,000 on my case. In addition, they are spending \$50,000 per year to incarcerate me. We are declaring bankruptcy on \$30,000 credit that cannot be repaid, \$30,000 on defaulted loans and another \$30,000 in additional liabilities mostly associated with legal expenses and the fine. My wife and children have to go on welfare.

Does that make sense? The total turnaround on this from the financial point of view has to be close to \$400,000 to \$500,000.

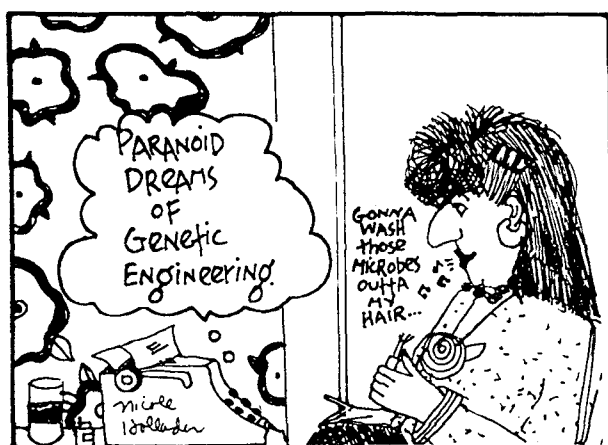
The majority of prison inmates were convicted for drug-related crimes. Almost all of them were busted by hordes of cops. Almost all of them have cost the taxpayers more than \$100,000 to bust and prosecute. Throw in the cost of incarceration at \$50,000 per year for federal and somewhat less for state and local prisons, and the taxpayer should re-evaluate his stand on drugs.

1990 looks to be a record year for murders in this country. Yet the drug war is finally being "won." The feds have confiscated more cocaine than ever. Street prices and quality reflect this decrease in supply. But what does society gain by this if murders and mayhem actually increase?

Ronald Linker

Prisoner of the War on Drugs
Morgantown, W.Va.

SYLVIA



by Nicole Hollander

By James Petras

THE IRAQI INVASION OF KUWAIT DID NOT in itself threaten the economies of the U.S., Europe or Japan. Furthermore, no evidence has surfaced that Saddam Hussein was preparing to invade Saudi Arabia. His seizure of Kuwait was made in order to increase oil revenues, which meant selling oil to the West and Japan. Paradoxically, it is the U.S. invasion of the Mideast, the threat of a major war with Iraq and the Iraqi oil embargo that have had a major destabilizing effect on world markets. As a result, global stock markets have plunged downward and the tendency toward stagflation has been exacerbated.

The forces shaping President Bush's Mideast military adventure do not spring from an undifferentiated American capitalism, much less our national interest. His decision reflects the interest of specific sectors that influence Washington policy-makers. In recent decades these have been the military-industrial complex, banks and financial institutions and oil interests. Over the years these interests have shaped

Saddam, you're no Noriega

budgets, foreign policy and domestic priorities. From the late '70s to the present, social policy has been sacrificed to immense military spending. Banks were deregulated and a half-trillion dollars must now be allocated by the state to subsidize the "losers," while profits for the winners soar as U.S. foreign policy puts a premium on Third World debt payments over and against any other issue. And oil companies, which were faced with declining profits and tied to crisis-ridden financial institutions, are now about to enjoy a windfall revival.

These forces at the center of U.S. executive decision-making are the principal beneficiaries of Bush's military intervention. With the end of the Cold War and mounting public pressure for large-scale, long-term cuts in military spending on the agenda, the escalation of the regional war into a global confrontation mobilizes mass media propaganda for reversing congressional and public opinion. The sending of U.S.

troops on a large scale creates a "human face" for securing public acquiescence in revising earlier attitudes: who can oppose high military spending in the face of U.S. hostages, or when it is needed to support GIs sweating in the desert—even though those GIs are defending corrupt, authoritarian oil billionaires, profit-gouging oil companies and defense contractors?

From the point of view of American banks, the U.S. intervention could not have been better timed. With almost \$70 billion in Kuwaiti assets frozen indefinitely and Saudi Arabia occupied by U.S. forces, the banks can expect increased leverage on Gulf oil funds. The depressed oil industry and the affiliated financial institutions and banks holding oil shares are in a position to recapture their strategic position in the U.S. economy and, with prices having risen more than 50 percent in less than a month, to increase their profits.

The size, scope and speed of the U.S. military intervention cannot be explained by mere bureaucratic imperatives or geopolitical considerations. In the short run, and for the above-mentioned specific sectors of the U.S. economy, Bush's policies will be successful; but in the middle and long term, the Bush policy merely reinforces structures that have caused the U.S. to decline in the world economy: *rentier* incomes undercut investment in production and technology, military contracts undercut competitiveness, and oil-price increases raise costs and lower consumption, depressing the economy and increasing inflation.

The military adventure in the Gulf creates the illusion that the U.S. is reasserting world power. It provides a military display to lay a new foundation for sustaining the dominant power. Just as in Eastern Europe, military pressure is intended to break the back not only of the aggressor Saddam Hussein but of any projection of nationalism, and to "open up" the Mideast to neoliberal economics and free-market democrats. This is short-term grandeur: the grand alliance now allegedly stretches from NATO through Moscow and Beijing to Tokyo. The worldwide support of the oil embargo has the U.S. leading and its allies following. We are back to the Golden Age, the zenith of U.S. power, 1945. Or are we?

The gains on the politico-diplomatic front are not accompanied by commensurate gains on the economic side. Apart from the above-mentioned troika (oil, banks and military-industrial groups), the military buildup is creating greater strains on the U.S. economy, increasing deficits, devastating urban centers with further budget cuts and undermining non-military industries.

Institutional background: Bush's policy reflects not only the interests of the military, banks and oil companies but also his institutional background as a former director of the CIA. But there is tension and potential conflict between the economic interests and CIA strategic concerns. The optimal strategy from the point of view of the business forces is a policy of "no war, no peace," a permanent tension that generates big military budgets without losing public support through high military casualties. For the banks, continued confrontation keeps the

U.S. in Saudi Arabia and the pressure on the Saudis, thus facilitating continued U.S. access to and control over funds. For the oil companies, the confrontation keeps oil prices rising, while war could endanger supplies.

The other face of Bush—the CIA operative side—sees the problem in terms of a military action to overthrow Saddam Hussein's regime. This narrow "operational vision" is evident in Bush's changing conception of the nature of the military escalation. In the initial period, Washington described the Bush policy as directed toward "stopping the invasion of Saudi Arabia"; this was later extended to include "driving Iraq out of Kuwait." Subsequently, the policy was further widened to "overthrowing the Hussein regime."

The increased U.S. military presence is accompanied by an escalation of demands and the extension of the U.S. politico-military agenda. Bush has shifted U.S. policy from dependence on a strategic client (Saudi Arabia) to rolling back Mideast politics to the early '50s, when American power in the Mideast was unchallenged and the region was dominated by a collection of Euro-American client states.

More of the same: Fatuous dreams are a poor substitute for a realistic policy, but there is a history of American presidents acting in a similar manner. Bush is following an interventionary policy based on false analogies: extrapolating from previous experience, presidents have projected U.S. power in new contexts with disastrous consequences. Bush's Iraqi policy is a product of what can be called the "Panama complex": successful intervention in overthrowing one adversary becomes the model for a subsequent attempt. Kennedy's CIA-orchestrated Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba drew on the agency's earlier overthrow of the Arbenz government in Guatemala, with disastrous results. A few thousand exiles were no match for Castro's half-million-strong militias. President Johnson's massive escalation in Vietnam followed his successful invasion of the Dominican Republic; however, in contrast to Juan Bosch's poorly armed civilians, Ho Chi Minh had several hundred thousand seasoned guerrilla fighters, and the U.S. went down to defeat. President Bush's successful invasion and overthrow of Panama's Noriega has created a frame of reference for his current approach to Iraq, but Saddam Hussein is not Noriega; he has a million-man army and anti-aircraft missiles that can hit back.

In each case where U.S. presidents have attempted to repeat earlier experiences of imperial successes in different contexts, their policies have been major failures. Bush seems to be following the pattern; as in Panama, the administration is "demonizing" the adversary, and Noriega the narcotictator is now replaced by Hussein the "Nazi." Then there is a massive military buildup and the search for a pretext to mobilize public opinion behind military action—in Panama it was the shooting of a U.S. soldier in Panamanian territory; in the case of Iraq, it could involve the U.S. shooting at an Iraqi ship. But Hussein is committed to fighting, and, above all else, he is in his own backyard: there is an unknown reserve of nationalist sentiment in the region that was lacking among the residents of the Canal Zone.

James Petras teaches sociology at the State University of New York, Binghamton.

SUBSCRIBER SERVICE S

MOVING?

Send changes with old mailing label to:

In These Times
1912 Debs Ave.
Mt. Morris, IL 61054

PROBLEMS?

If you have any problems or questions regarding your subscription, please write or call:

1-800-435-0715

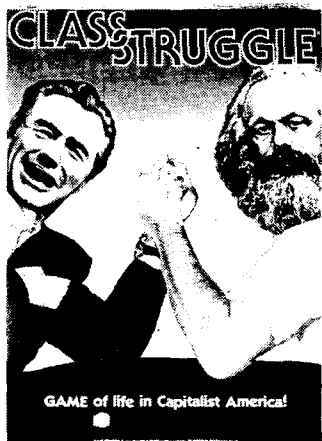
Prepare for life in Capitalist America . . . play CLASS STRUGGLE—the Game!

"Class Struggle" can be played by two to six players who represent different classes, the main classes being Workers and Capitalists. Both rules and content reflect what actually occurs in our society. For example, people do not choose their classes but are born into them. In the game, this is decided by a throw of the "Genetic Die." The main strategy of the game involves the making and breaking of class alliances. Elections, general strikes, and revolution are occasions for Workers and Capitalists (and their respective allies) to confront each other on the basis of the points (strengths) they have accumulated. "Chance" and other Special Event squares fill in the social analysis. Ideal for the home and classroom use.

Meet the Author . . .

Dr. Bertell Ollman, the creator of "Class Struggle," is a full Professor in the Dept. of Politics at N.Y.U., author of *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, and co-author of *Studies in Socialist Pedagogy*. A distinguished political theorist and teacher, this is Dr. Ollman's first essay into gamesmanship.

Find out for yourself why over 300 papers and other media (including TV's TODAY and TOMORROW SHOWS) around the world have featured stories about "Class Struggle." Order now.



Such Acclaim . . .

"More than a game . . . it's a book in a box!" —Ell Willentz, Willentz 8th Street Bookshop

"... good sport . . . the game is very instructional!" —THE VILLAGE VOICE

"A real class game . . ." —CHICAGO SUN TIMES

"... its future seems secure . . . good humor . . . its messages are serious." —THE NEW YORK TIMES

"... all the proletariat may soon be playing it . . ." —THE WASHINGTON POST

"... a quick and easy way to play out the drama and power struggles of life in this society . . ." —WASHINGTON SQUARE NEWS

"A nifty . . . clever new board game at a capitalist's dream price." —NEW YORK POST



The Avalon Hill Game Company

Dept. IT, 4517 Harford Road
Baltimore, MD 21214

Send me _____ copies of **Class Struggle** @ \$25 plus \$2.50 shipping.
I enclose ☐ Check ☐ Money Order ☐ Credit Card info. below
Checks payable to: **The Avalon Hill Game Company**. DO NOT SEND CASH.

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____

ZIP _____

ACCOUNT NUMBER _____

EXPIRATION DATE _____

SIGNATURE _____

For quick credit card purchasing, call TOLL FREE 1-800-999-3222

Cultural SWAT teams attack *Air America*, defend CIA

"It's un-American," said Pia Lindstrom on WCBS in New York. "Half-baked...conspiracy theory," wrote Christopher Robbins in twin attacks in the *New York Times* and *Vogue*. Similarly unsparing vilification has come from Peter Kann and Phillip Jennings in the *Wall Street Journal* and from *Time* magazine.

The object of all this fury is *Air America*, a comedy thriller depicting the adventures of Mel Gibson and Robert Downey Jr. as a pair of Air America pilots operating in Laos in the '60s, where the U.S. waged a "secret war."

The film admittedly concentrates on the lighter side of a horrible conflict, but this is not what has excited the critics' greatest fury. The rage stems from recognition of the fact that the Central Intelligence Agency, with the knowledge of higher authorities in Washington, D.C., was actively involved in the heroin trade.

It's been interesting to see how quickly cultural SWAT teams have been mustered to savage the film. The last time a mass assault of this nature took place was when Michael Moore released *Roger and Me*, which had the temerity to be anti-corporate in a way that appealed to a mass audience. "Liberals" such as Pauline Kael in the *New Yorker* and Judy Stone in the *San Francisco Chronicle* swarmed to attack Moore for innumerable crimes, all of which boiled down to the one central sin of having taken a rather successful and amazing kick at the capitalist way.

In a rather similar way, critics have rushed to the defense of the CIA. Kann and

CIA defenders are outraged that the film *Air America* tells the truth about agency drug traffickers.

Air America veteran Jennings state that Air America, a CIA proprietary company, was "specifically barred" from carrying drugs, which is scarcely surprising. No one claims the pilots had written approval from the director of Central Intelligence. Robbins, who wrote a history of Air America on which the film is loosely based, is more slippery, conceding in his *Vogue* article that "Air America certainly carried opium during harvest time," while proclaiming in the *New York Times* that the CIA merely "turned a blind eye" to the drug trading of its client generals.

But charges of CIA implication in the drug trade are by no means new and are very well founded. The classic work on the subject is Alfred McCoy's *The Politics of Heroin in South-East Asia*, published in 1972. McCoy's research is legendary. Through interviews with U.S. intelligence, military and aid officials and local sources, including drug traders, he showed in compelling detail how, since World War II, the CIA had supported opium traffickers as allies in the war on communism.

ASHES & DIAMONDS

By Alexander Cockburn



Air America tells a story of CIA involvement in the Indochinese heroin trade during the Vietnam War.

Thus, the CIA maintained a fugitive anti-communist Kuomintang army in Burma that rapidly became the largest supplier of opium in the region. In Laos, the CIA followed in the steps of the previous occupiers, the French, assisting in Hmong opium distribution in return for services against the communist guerrillas.

McCoy and his collaborators were banished from mainstream American academia. They had said the unsayable, describing the process whereby U.S. intelligence officials had connived in the refining of opium into heroin and its subsequent shipment either to Vietnam and into the veins of GIs or to the U.S. mainland.

Sixteen years later, in 1988, my brother and sister-in-law, Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, preparing their WGBH *Frontline* documentary, *Guns, Drugs and the CIA*, expanded McCoy's findings with on-camera testimony from U.S. officials involved in the trade.

Ron Rickenback, for example, a former Agency for International Development man who served in Laos at the storm center of the secret war, described how he had seen opium loaded on and off Air America planes.

He also described how the CIA had purchased an airline for "General" Vang Pao, leader of the CIA-sponsored Hmong. A

former Air America pilot, Neil Hansen, now serving time for marijuana smuggling, described on camera how he and other pilots routinely flew—not unofficially but under CIA orders—"the sticky bricks," i.e., opium.

Most significantly, former CIA officer Tony Po, now living in northeast Thailand, said on camera that the CIA knew that Vang Pao was making millions from opium and heroin trafficking. Po gave in precise detail the routes by which Vang moved his heroin from Laos to Vietnam, using planes that the CIA had given him, while maintaining full CIA cooperation.

Air America, the film, is now suffering the sort of abuse incurred by McCoy. It similarly dares to say the unsayable and commits the added offense of joking about it. Its prime assailant, author Robbins, did not always view the CIA-drug connection as "half-baked...conspiracy theory." His 1979 edition of *Air America*, heavily reliant on McCoy's work, contained scores of assertions of the sort of CIA drug involvement that the film portrays. But such charges vanished without explanation from the 1988 edition. Robbins had embarked on a history of one particular group of pilots—known as the Ravens—involved in the secret war. These pilots, loaned from the Air Force to the secret war, were understandably eager to insist on the probity of their operations.

Despite its frivolity, the film touches a raw nerve. It injects into mass culture truth on a matter that official America has been lying about for three decades, namely the confluence between U.S. covert operations and criminality, whether in Laos, Afghanistan or Central America.

Distributed by Alexander Cockburn.

IN THESE TIMES

Do the right thing

Help IN THESE TIMES celebrate its 14th anniversary

There's nothing gimmicky about 14—but then again, there's nothing gimmicky about IN THESE TIMES. Unlike most of the mainstream media, we rely on those who care about knowledge—not corporate profits—to keep us going. That's why we want you to advertise. Your greeting ad—whether it's words of praise for our work or words of promotion for your own—will reach thousands of like-minded people and remind us all of our growing popularity. Show your support by completing the coupon below. Our deadline is October 15, 1990, but we will gladly reserve space before then. If we can assist you in any way, please call us at (312) 772-0100.

14th Anniversary Rate Card and Order Form

<input type="checkbox"/> Full page	\$2400	10 x 14	NAME
<input type="checkbox"/> Half page	1300	10 x 7	ADDRESS
<input type="checkbox"/> Junior page	1450	7 1/2 x 10	CITY/STATE/ZIP
<input type="checkbox"/> Third page	900	10 x 4 3/4	PHONE
<input type="checkbox"/> Quarter page	750	5 x 7	Deadline for ads is
<input type="checkbox"/> Eighth page	390	5 x 3 1/2	October 15, 1990.
<input type="checkbox"/> Sixteenth page	225	2 7/16 x 3 1/2	
<input type="checkbox"/> Thirty-second page	115	2 7/16 x 2	
<input type="checkbox"/> Organizational greeting	90		
<input type="checkbox"/> Individual greeting	30		

IN THESE TIMES, 2040 North Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647 · (312) 772-0100

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT

Teach Children in ANGOLA
Work with a Cooperative in Brazil

Group programs begin fall 1990 & include intensive technical, language and documentation training before travel; U.S. community education upon return.
Also courses to Mozambique and Central America
For a free brochure:
At: IICD, P.O. Box 103-T, Williamstown, MA 01267.
(413) 458-9828.

The Disappearance of the Outside: A Manifesto for Escape

By Andrei Codrescu
Addison-Wesley, 216 pp., \$17.95

By Thomas Larson

TO BE EXILED—BY THE STATE OR by personal choice—begins a lifelong psychological struggle. It is perhaps most profound when the exile's mind remains divided between memory and the New World, one mind firmly in the past and one assimilating hesi-

LITERATURE

tantly into the present. The mind of memory tells the exile to keep his loss. He may return, if not in fact then in memory. The New World mind tells him that his life, which stands out in ways magical and strange from the natives around him, must become more than he ever expected if he is to mature. Remain the same and grow.

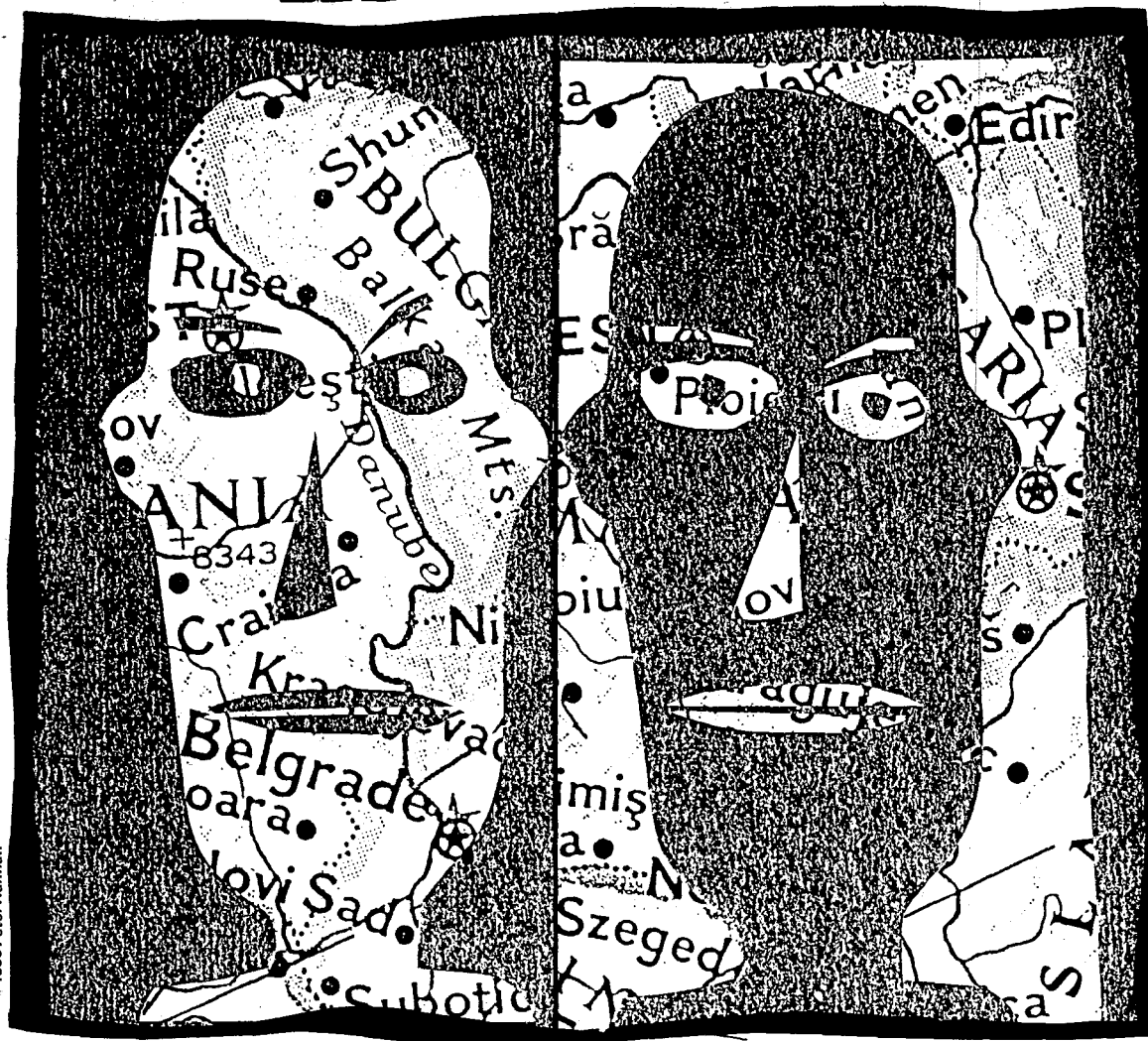
Hence Andrei Codrescu—Romanian exile, surrealist poet, U.S. citizen and a man of two minds, whose plight reminds us that though the East-West conflict may be ending, its individual victims live on.

You can hear the place of exile in his name: Codrescu, the same marble-mouthed rhythm as Ceausescu, the Romanian ex-president and Stalinist butcher whose censors attacked the 19-year-old Codrescu's Stalin-hating poems in 1966.

Beat street: Exiling himself to America in the '60s, Codrescu found a place where his New World literary aspirations could grow—New York City. There, beat and surrealist poets influenced him greatly with a poetics that de-emphasized image and refocused speech or talk as the poem's central expression. (Among his mentors were Ted Berrigan and Allen Ginsberg.) Codrescu has done well with their lessons, publishing 14 books of poetry (in addition to works of fiction, essays and memoir), editing the surrealist journal *The Exquisite Corpse* and crafting his quirky social commentaries for National Public Radio's *All Things Considered*.

But regardless of his literary feats in the U.S., he remains Romanian—lyrical, aphoristic, hyperbolic, addicted to metaphor.

With this book, an ode to—and display of—intellectual freedom, Codrescu traces his being Other, being Outside, back to his origins, to the beginnings of a destiny he has always known. In the first of 10 loosely related essays on the subject of exile, he says Romania had to be the land of his birth: it is the land of the exiled. "The myth ... was imbedded archetypally in our culture. I belong to a country whose main export is geniuses." Ovid, Constantin Brancusi, Tristan Tzara, Eugene Ionesco, Mircea Eliade and Nadia Comaneci.



East eats West: for Andrei Codrescu, it's surreal thing

The great archetype of the exiled, of course, is the Romanian national hero, Count Dracula. Nosferatu's story epitomizes the sadness of loss because the count can never return to the living/dying world he abandoned. The Englishman Bram Stoker refashioned the tale to reflect the Westerner's obsession with sex and immortality. But Codrescu says the hell-warning implicit in the story has been turned upside down: "[he] is the chief deity, and just as Halloween is displacing Christmas [as the nation's greatest holiday], Dracula is replacing Jesus Christ."

Analyzing Dracula's appeal to the West creates marvelous cacophony, a sort of crash-and-ring continuous-

Eventually, the unused freedom previous generations have won vanishes.

ly sounded by Codrescu's past and present minds. He troubles East-West divisions with insights only an exiled Easterner could have.

"Until the recent revolutions in the East, the distinctions were clear: the Censor ruled that world, TV ruled ours.... The old Censor has dissolved into the illusionary liberty of our image-making machine. What hap-

pens from here on out is no longer a question of ideological oppositions, but a struggle for global reality."

Exiles on Main Street: Codrescu does not, like many immigrants, fall prostrate before the flag. He repeatedly harangues the triviality of our politics and media, the infomania that causes us to adore our technology as it stifles our thought. Here's a desultory attack on the commodification of desire:

"All the things that mimic human desires ('sexy guns') are in fact circuit breakers: they increase the need proportionally to the distancing of satisfaction. You can't *always* get what you want because you can *never* get what you want because you don't know *what* you want when you can have *everything that looks like it*. Desire itself eventually becomes false desire until its entire energy becomes the property (and fuel) of power."

Of course, many exiles dread being Americanized, becoming middle class and safe. Some artists (such as Czeslaw Milosz, whose resistance to New World ideas Codrescu analyzes) prefer marginality, writing critically about a society that upholds the worldly principle of their freedom but is deaf to the anti-national message of their art.

This loss-after-loss seems to be Codrescu's theme. What is disappearing for him comprises the ex-

pressionist art forms—dada, surrealism, modernism—those big guns a few poets keep firing from the edges of culture to awaken people to the power of imagination. Why is the Outsider's art disappearing? Because such displays of personal power often insult authority and invite censorship. (Recall the attacks on Robert Mapplethorpe's work.) Knowing that art can incite freedom and repression, many artists are frightened of such potential. They comply, censor themselves. Eventually, if unused, the freedom previous generations have won vanishes. Equally important, Codrescu warns, the houses of invention artists traditionally inhabit outside the mainstream, where the wildness of the avant-garde dwells, are being dismantled by the competitive economic demands of both socialist and capitalist states. The growth of the imagination is irrelevant to the production of couches.

Real sentiment machines: To show off his love of marginality, Codrescu often floods his writing with an automatic, associative style. An example:

"The only shocking thing in our world is its fearless use. We must eroticize language, ourselves and the world: make the points of contact glow. This may have to be done unsentimentally now, when the war machines are the real sentiment machines (a tank is a hankie) and

beautiful to boot. We must preserve the human nomad forms in all their *desuete* charm: gypsy scholars, misfits, politicians, truants, escapees, runaways, stewardesses, bus drivers, train porters, itinerants, night managers, self-born-again, by themselves, hired guns, Kelly girls, corporate fixers, nurses, malcontents—the drifting globe.... We should build on oracular and practical language on the blocked flows of political exiles while retaining the formal liberty of art. We should be capable of conceptualizing our experience to the point where it becomes new experience."

I'm unsure what it all means, but the ideas are exhilarating. Codrescu seems to enjoy making those "points of contact glow," which will prove quite an accomplishment in language but not necessarily a boon to a reader's understanding. And, since Codrescu's consciousness is forever his subject, the expression often becomes more purposeful than the message. Indeed, his prose exemplifies a sort of risk-taking he feels is kaput in much American writing. "The weakness of the American poet is not that he has no imagination but that he does not love poetry enough to *think on its behalf*."

(On this point Codrescu the critic oddly overlooks the Spanish/Latin surrealist influence of Lorca, Neruda and Vallejo on such radical poets as Robert Bly and W.S. Merwin, and the fact that these U.S. poets have had innumerable imitators.)

The role of the artist as society's Problem Child is very American. Codrescu's anti-authoritarian stand follows a significant branch of American art, from Whitman to Stein to Pynchon and Morrison. What Codrescu may miss, however, as Granville Hicks once said, is that the Great Tradition in American literature belongs to the Outsiders: it is made up precisely of those writers who are alienated from—and in mortal combat with—the impersonal acquisitive values of American society.

Although Codrescu over-expresses his concept of the ontology of exile, these essays do have immediacy, a verve and toughness that recall some of our best multicultural writers, such as Gary Soto, David Mura or Michelle Cliff. But be warned, Codrescu's soul is cut like a boxer's, and there is much of the fighter's feint that makes his love of abstraction hard to follow.

Nonetheless, read with the instructive irreverence his minds-in-tandem engage, Codrescu is joyful. His writing enacts his love of freedom. In Romania, he says, one always had to whisper, hide books under covers, be cautious with whom one joked. Otherwise, prison. Once in America, Codrescu has never stopped talking, often just for the joy of hearing himself speak.

Thomas Larson is a widely published writer who teaches at San Diego City College.

Forced Out: The Agony of the Refugee in Our Time

By Carole Kismaric, with a commentary by William Shawcross Human Rights Watch and the J.M. Kaplan Fund, in association with William Morrow, W.W. Norton, Penguin Books and Random House 192 pp., \$19.95

By Robert Silberman

IN *ON PHOTOGRAPHY*, SUSAN SONTAG warned that as a result of constant media bombardment, our ability to be shocked by images might be decreasing. I was therefore surprised to find this testimonial from Sontag on the back cover of *Forced Out*: "A book of conscience and a powerful spur to conscience, and to action. May the book's words and images be, as they should be, impossible to forget."

I was surprised, but not *that* surprised, because Sontag hedged her bet in *On Photography* by saying that "without a politics, photographs of the slaughter-bench of history will most likely be experienced as, simply, unreal or as a demoralizing emotional blow" (emphasis added).

Sontag's jacket blurb on *Forced Out* offers more a description and a hope than an analysis. Still, *Forced Out*, a book jammed full of precisely the kind of images Sontag says may no longer retain their old punch, raises her basic question once again: what kind of work can make a strong enough impression to generate not only pity and fear but action?

Compassion fatigue: It's not easy to determine exactly how jaded we have become, but Sontag's argument, despite any quibbles, sounds correct. It has become difficult to respond fully to yet another picture of the victims of the death squads, or starving children in Africa, or a homeless person in an American city. What William Shawcross calls "compassion fatigue" is a major problem. Of course, one might ask, "What is the quality of a compassion capable of burning out?" To answer my own rhetorical question: a human compassion, that is, an imperfect one.

Forced Out attempts to present vividly "the agony of the refugee in our time." It comes with impeccable credentials. Supported by a grant from the J.M. Kaplan Fund, published last year by a consortium of publishers, the project was led by Carole Kismaric, formerly editorial director at the photographic publisher Aperture. Shawcross, author of *Sideshow: Nixon, Kissinger and the Destruction of Cambodia*, a Thucydidean account of that horrifying chapter in history, wrote the main essay.

There are also excellent texts by Aryeh Neier of Human Rights Watch and other writers—and many statements by refugees giving first-person testimony. The powerful images that make up the main body of the book are by various photographers, including such notable figures as Susan Meiselas and Sebastiao Salgado. (There was also a traveling exhibition version of *Forced Out*,

Developing problems and the picture of concern



Salvadorans and other refugees find there's no home-like place.

using large blowups of the pictures.

Television has undoubtedly supplanted newspaper and periodical journalism and photojournalism as the main medium for representing world events: in comparison with this year's television images from Germany and Eastern Europe, the famous 1961 photo of the East German soldier leaping over the barbed wire to freedom seems curiously dated. Yet still photographs—like that one—have a concentrated power often surpassing that of the televised image.

Close-ups and the long view:

Forced Out is a publishing equivalent to Live Aid, Farm Aid and the Amnesty International benefit concerts by pop music stars. It offers broadside aesthetics, not fine-arts photography: bold, tabloid-style graphics, beginning with five-inch bright red letters on the cover and a gritty, grainy look in the reproduction of the images. Fold-outs are used to good effect, as when, upon opening up one set of "wings," the reader is confronted by a panoramic image of thousands of Cambodian women in

a camp in Thailand. The book also uses frequent close-up portraits as

REFUGEES

a reminder that there are individuals behind the statistics and the group labels.

One danger is that this "committed" kind of work, dedicated to bringing the anguish of refugees home, will preach only to the converted. Those who already have the politics Sontag speaks about—and are suitably receptive to the message of the images—may be those who least need that message. Another danger

Still photographs have a concentrated power often surpassing that of the televised image.

is that the project will promote a kind of "pan-refugeeism," with all refugees somehow equated.

There is no way to avoid these dangers completely, but *Forced Out* does confront them head on. Those who are already concerned about the refugee problem need to be reminded of its seriousness once again and have their awareness deepened. Similarly, before one can focus one's attention on specific groups of refugees, it no doubt helps to consider the overall situation.

The book at once checks and reinforces the emotional assault of the images and the graphic design with what I can only describe as one of the most impressive arrays of depressing facts I have ever encountered. Five million individuals were living in refugee camps on Jan. 1, 1987. Forty percent of Guatemala's population consists of widows and children, with 100,000 to 200,000 highland children either fatherless, motherless or orphans. And out of more than 16,000 Haitians stopped on the high seas by the Coast Guard over a seven-year period, four were

granted asylum hearings, while the rest were sent back without a hearing. The prosaic, chilling facts go on and on.

Coupled with the testimony of refugees, wrenching narratives concerning the kinds of situations we all hope never to experience and wish we didn't have to confront, the effect is devastating. (It is, however, incongruous to find, after all the photos of the impoverished, malnourished, anonymous refugees in the camps, a section including that notable pair of voluntary defectors, Nureyev and Baryshnikov, along with other relatively well-known figures including the writer Joseph Brodsky, who was forced out of the Soviet Union.)

Complications of charity: Appeals concerning the refugee problem often cross the line between an understandable emotionalism and an unappealing sentimentality. I am not simply referring to Sally Struthers and her late-night, teary-eyed appeals for the Christian Children's Fund; if those who beseech people to have the "courage to care" actually raise money for good works, more power to them. Better bleeding hearts than hearts of stone.

But charity and humanitarian concerns are not simple matters. The telethon for the organization World Vision asked for money to fight "disease, illiteracy, malnutrition and spiritual darkness." The last item seemed to suggest not an offer of psychological counseling but the old, unhappy notion of converting the heathen.

It should not be necessary to suspect that behind every humanitarian effort lies a form of neocolonial control. But in mass culture, appeals are often bound up with the media, with celebrity and, however indirectly, with commercial interests.

A recent video by the pop star Phil Collins, "Another Day in Paradise," features shots of the singer looking at the camera and telling us to "think about it" intercut with images of the homeless and graphics announcing that 3 million people in America are homeless and 1 billion worldwide have inadequate shelter. The artist may be sincere in attempting a provocative, "serious" statement, as he pointedly implicates himself and his audience. But the work still exists in the commercial context of the recording industry.

As an instrument of consciousness-raising, not fundraising, *Forced Out* avoids such complicated problems. Yet the attempt to cover all aspects of an enormous subject does inevitably lead to blurring around the intellectual edges. I would like to know, for example, how the different local, national and regional situations contribute to different versions of the problem. I would also like to know how the refugee problem relates to the long-term problem of modernization and urbanization.

Refugees fleeing war zones are different from refugees fleeing extreme poverty or drought, who are, in turn,

Continued on following page

Continued from preceding page

different from refugees fleeing authoritarian regimes or ethnic and religious persecution. Many areas burdened by refugee problems, such as the Middle East and Pakistan, are in effect suffering from the continuing aftereffects of imperialism and colonialism. The immediate problem of helping the many refugees of all kinds survive at something more than a subsistence level is so great, however, that such distinctions may appear academic.

Principles and interest: All the same, I confess to being not entirely comfortable with the book's concluding section, a 12-point covenant of refugees' rights. Somehow these statements, so admirable in theory, seem too far removed from practice, that is, from the specific economic and political circumstances responsible for the many different versions of the refugee problem, and too far

removed from any sort of meaningful legal enactment. When confronted by photos of a young Turk committing suicide in Germany rather than face repatriation, or shots of racist banners ("Keep Sweden Swedish" and equivalents from France and England), statements about the right of people not to be displaced from a war zone risk appearing not idealistic but simpleminded.

In the best of all possible worlds, there would be agreement on basic principles of human rights and, more than that, action on behalf of those principles. In our world, we do need to be thankful that there are people willing to espouse such principles and, more significantly, create works like *Forced Out*, to remind us of what is all too often only a passing image in a newspaper or on a television screen.

But as Sontag suggests, we also

need to connect those images to a pragmatic politics. The idealistic principles are fine: it's good to keep the goals in sight. Who wishes to stand up and oppose, say, the 1951 U.N. statement on refugees or the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights?

Forced Out makes it quite clear where its sympathies lie in relation to American foreign policy in Central America and elsewhere. No doubt the basic human needs of most refugees can seem so pressing that their situation may appear non-political. But there is a huge gap between the acceptance of a general right to refuge and a specific application.

Forced Out appears at times as an engagé *Family of Man*, promoting human-rights principles that supposedly transcend political differences. I would insist, however, that such a generalized approach always

risks breaking down when translated into the specific political terms governing a particular situation.

It is important that there be awareness of the shared plight of the refugees. In aiming "straight at the heart" (in Kismaric's phrase), *Forced Out* strikes home. But the use of photographs to arouse indignation and social concern, by becoming a problem of representation becomes a problem of audience and of manipulation. The more photographs are used because of their apparent immediacy, the more care must be taken in becoming aware of how they actually serve to mediate, especially between Third World realities and First World audiences.

Among the kitsch icons of the '50s are the curious paintings of waif-like children with enormous eyes. The '70s and '80s offered a socially conscious version of those curious images as the media filled with photo-

graphs of starving children with "pleading" eyes. At worst, they were visual blackmail; at best, deliberate provocations in the service of noble ends. *Forced Out* provokes a sense of unease by confronting us with the overwhelming character of the refugee problem as a desperate matter of satisfying fundamental human needs—for food, shelter, employment, protection from violence.

For me, there's also no escaping the thorny underlying question of what constitutes an acceptable and effective manner of using images as an instrument of social action. Yet whatever my reservations about particular aspects of the work, I can only hope that *Forced Out* finds as wide an audience as possible. Such a morally serious use of photographs and text is all too rare. ■

Robert Silberman is professor of film and photography at the University of Minnesota.

A Miracle, a Universe: Settling Accounts with Torturers

By Lawrence Weschler
Pantheon, 293 pp., \$22.95

GHOSTS ARE SIGNPOSTS OF THE past, the agents of history returning to haunt the living. All of history might be said to be about ghosts of one sort or another, even in this most amnesiac of countries, where we take each new day à la Madonna, "like a virgin." Countries not as lucky or as blind as our own, though, must often see their pasts pass by in the street. Sometimes, the torture victim will even bump into his former torturer.

Brazil and Uruguay, newly emergent and fragile after long nights of military rule, are among the many nations in this violent world faced with the problem of "settling accounts with torturers," the subtitle of Lawrence Weschler's important effort toward our understanding of the great dilemma facing these countries. Years of torture, brutal imprisonment, perversion of the rule of law by the rule of the cattle prod, the act of "disappearing" a human being in the name of ideology—all these are war crimes committed by militaries against their own peoples.

A fragile hope against institutional amnesia

But there have been no Nuremberg Trials for the generals and their agents, who still remain armed to the teeth and fervent in the belief that they alone incarnate nationhood. Indeed, with self-wrought blanket amnesties and the very real threat of their taking power again, the generals have attempted to keep the truth hidden away. History, in their eyes, should be disappeared. They fear the ghosts they have made.

General uneasiness: And, as Weschler makes clear, the military has its uneasy allies. Weak consensus and coalition governments, fearing the return of tanks to the streets, have been slow to publicize, much less prosecute, the barbarisms of the dictatorships. Yet the demand for truth, not necessarily punishment, remains adamant. How could it not, when families have been ripped apart, friends disappeared? The victims and their relatives must speak. These survivors of the terror years do not want revenge so much as official acknowledgement of what everyone already knows, that tremendous

crimes were committed against the people. For society to be rehabilitated, the story must be told. It must be admitted aloud, without fear, before the healing can start.

TORTURE

fore the healing can start.

Originally appearing in the *New Yorker*, the two essays that make up this book weave together a somber moral tale of our time. The first part, "A Miracle, a Universe," details the bravery of a tiny handful of Brazilian human-rights activists and clerics who masterminded an audacious

For society to be rehabilitated, the story must be told.

plan to compile a record of official abuse from the very files of the state itself.

Their effort, *Brasil: Nunca Mais*, was originally published in 1985; in

total, it is a 6,946-page, 12-volume survey and analysis of a million surreptitiously photocopied pages of military court records. The state's victims were inevitably found guilty, of course, in kangaroo court proceedings, but in a Kafkaesque respect for legal formality, these courts allowed details of brutalization to be entered as testimony, little expecting that testimony would one day be exposed to the world.

Ironically, it was this tradition of faithfulness to bureaucratic minutiae and record-keeping that revealed the guilt of the military's torturers with names, dates and places. There was no such tradition in Uruguay, a country with a long history of both prosperity and democratic freedoms before the 1973 coup that crushed both. In "The Reality of the World," the bulk of the book, Weschler's project widens to encompass the recent history of this small country, a place most U.S. taxpayers could probably not find on a map. In Latin America, however, it was that lucky anomaly, a working democracy with a largely ceremonial military. The Cold War's international poisons leveled it to the narrowness of its neighbors, with those ignorant U.S. taxpayers helping to foot some of the bill.

The centerpiece of the Uruguayan story is the citizens-initiated referendum to invalidate an amnesty engineered by the military after more than a decade of rule marked by "the highest per-capita rate of political incarceration anywhere on Earth." The referendum was defeated 53 percent to 41 percent last year after a long campaign. That the vote for invalidation was as close as it was, in the face of the new civilian government's nervous antagonism and virtual control of the media, not to mention the sabre-rattling and barely veiled threats of the garrisoned military, testifies to the continuing strength of the population's hunger for the acknowledgement that history does indeed live:

Paper trail: There are no easy answers—or happy endings—in *A Mir-*

acle, a Universe. There cannot be. Neither the torturers nor their masters have been brought to trial in Brazil or Uruguay. But Weschler's hope is that the mere existence of the referendum in Uruguay—for next time it might win—and the paper trail in Brazil for all the world to see, is in of itself a sort of bulwark against a repetition of the past. It is a fragile hope, but then the world is a fragile place, of small victories against horrible odds and forces.

This remains, however, a profoundly sad and disturbing book. Weschler is an excellent writer, known for his fine reporting from Eastern Europe, who goes into the depth and nuance that newspapers seem incapable of and television ruthlessly suppresses. Even so, the material here has a life of its own, not easily contained within a writer's skill. This is not to suggest that a less-qualified person could do as good a job but rather to stress that some things are so powerful that any one person's talents tend to be overshadowed. Weschler does us all a great service by tackling this tremendous problem of the times of the world we live in.

Be sure not to miss the intriguing endnotes. They help prepare you for coming to grips with what a Chilean woman, quoted in *The Nation*, Aug. 13, 1990, said upon the recent unearthing of two dozen murdered supporters of Salvadore Allende: "The ground is speaking." Throughout the Southern Cone, the ground is literally and figuratively spitting out the names, the bodies, the histories of the victims of the perversity of the free-market fascism of the so-called "Chicago Boys" and the ideological psychosis of the doctrine of "national security." Someday, too, the ground of Guatemala, El Salvador and many other nations will open up with the truth as well, because the ghosts will not, cannot and must not stay buried. ■

Matthew Wills is a writer living in Iowa whose work has appeared in *The Exquisite Corpse* and *The American Book Review*.

Rough

UTS

BY

JAREID

This year's BIG sleeper

M.C. HAMMOCK

The hottest rapper of the last 19 seconds follows his smash-hit endorsements for sneakers and soda with a new merchandizing Monster!

AS SEEN ON...

Yo! THEM TV ADS

COMING SOON: M.C. Hamburger Helper!

MC Hamster

By J. Poet

MARGARETH MENEZES ELECTRIFIED the crowds who came to see David Byrne's *Rei Momo* tour with her energetic opening sets, and on her first North American tour she's drawing more Americans than Brazilians, an unusual circumstance for a singer at the start of her career. But the exuberance of a Menezes performance easily pulverizes the barriers that stand between our dif-

MUSIC

ferent cultures. It was this exuberance, evident even in her videos, that led Byrne to enlist her aid for his recent Latin American project.

"I had been planning a tour for the U.S. anyway," Menezes said, speaking through her American manager "Boco" Dranoff. "David [Byrne] knew about me, and when he saw the video we did for 'Elegibo' he had his manager call Boco and ask if I would be interested in opening the show."

Menezes agreed, and after learning the songs phonetically from a tape Byrne sent her, she hit the road with the *Rei Momo* troupe for six months of hard work in Europe, Japan, Canada, Latin America and the U.S. And almost every review echoed the words of the *Montreal Gazette*: "It only took Menezes 30 seconds to ignite the crowd."

Menezes was born in the town of Salvador, in the Brazilian state of Bahia. "There is African culture all around Brazil," Menezes said, "but Bahia is the most African." The oldest daughter of five children, Menezes grew up singing—at home and in her church's youth choir.

"We were not rich, but my parents worked hard to make sure we had the things we wanted. And my mother was very supportive of my singing, even from an early age," Menezes recalls.

Menezes got interested in theater in high school, and after graduation she was involved with a troupe that "followed the theater line of Brecht. We did social and political plays, some by new writers, some that we created ourselves, even one by Gogol. The expertise I got from the theater taught me how to move, how to command space on stage, which was very good to know when I got serious about my singing career."

Rising young star: Menezes' vocal talent was evident even in her first professional appearance. Her duets with singer-songwriter Silas Henique on the tunes in his *Bath of Light* song cycle won first prize in the annual Caynini Project Festival. "Caynini is a famous songwriter who lends his name and talents to an annual contest sponsored by the Brazilian Steel Industry," Menezes explained. "The contest gives encouragement and exposure to young songwriters."

After winning the first prize, Menezes put together an 11-piece band and toured Bahia, knocking out the crowds throughout the state. At

Bahian star burns down the house



Singer Margareth Menezes: a stellar Brazilian export

the end of the tour Polygram Brazil dangled a recording contract.

Although Menezes writes songs, so far she has chosen material by other composers, some of it crafted especially for her, for her recording dates. "I have to sing songs that I'm passionate about, songs that seduce me," Menezes said. "My own songs are written for my own pleasure, on acoustic guitar," she adds modestly.

Elegibo, her debut American release on Mango Records, is actually a compilation of her first two Brazilian albums. The music, a rich gumbo of various Brazilian styles ac-

cented by funk, reggae and African rhythms, has been getting raves, even from mainstream critics. I asked if her fusion of styles was common in Brazil.

"No, but coming from the background I come from, it would be impossible to do only one style. Everyone in our family, my father, my aunts and uncles, all loved music, so from the time I was a little girl I heard salsa, funk, reggae—and all of the Brazilian singers who were popular, Gal Costa, Gilberto Gil—I was exposed to everything. And my arranger, Pedro Giorlandini [who plays keyboards on both *Elegibo* and the singer's concert tour] is of the same mind. I'm able to give him my thoughts, my ideas about a song, and then we can work together to get an arrangement. In the past few years there's been a growing movement in Brazil to embrace Afro-Caribbean culture, so interest in soca, zouk and African music is growing," Menezes explained. "There's a whole world of music out there, and we're determined to explore it all."

J. Poet is a critic living in Berkeley.

"There's a whole world of music out there, and we're determined to explore it all."

MEDIA BEAT

By Pat Aufderheide

"Free TV"'s ad hustle

Network television is watching viewers tune out in droves, switching to cable and videocassette. Its solution: new "advertiser-friendly" relationships—product plugging within programs (Tide and Crest popping up in *Northern Exposure*) in exchange for production money; host selling (Angela Lansbury endorsing coffee during commercials for *Murder, She Wrote*, on which she stars); and even call-in-for-coupons numbers, sweepstakes ("McMillions on NBC") and mall tours.

Public TV's pickle

Public TV, whose ratings and pledges have dipped again, is also fighting audience drain. And it too is turning to advertising, both on and about itself—a near-inevitability given lukewarm government support.

If you're American Airlines or Hertz or MCI and you've got an ad that meets the flexible underwriting guidelines—slogans, telephone numbers and business locations are permitted—all you have to do is call the Public Broadcasting Marketing (PBM) and pay a few thousand dollars to get your ad on a station's program. This service perfectly duplicates what's available for commercial TV, but it's tax-deductible. "It's like giving money to a charity but at an efficient cost per thousand," PBM President Keith Thompson said in *Advertising Age*.

Meanwhile, Philadelphia station WHYY is producing a razzle-dazzle \$200,000 ad campaign for the fall season, hoping to lure back viewers with the boast that "something special is on TV." They probably don't mean *Doing Business in Asia*, an edited version of a direct-mail video produced by Northwest Airlines debuting on public TV this fall.

That "something special"

In an often-too-predictable landscape, sometimes something special is on public television. Two stations and a PBS series recently took courageous stands on the festering controversy over the arts and public money. In Boston, on the eve of a museum opening of controversial photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe—one target of Jesse Helms' wrath and NEA-baiting—WGBH aired some of the most controversial photos. Small New York station WNYC has suggested that it might not be able to accept an NEA grant that comes with strings. It's also producing local public-affairs shows—including one that featured the NEA debate and included controversial scenes from a play about the suppression of homosexuality in Cuba. And the documentary series *P.O.V.*, which won a \$250,000 NEA grant, is testing the waters. When airing *Golub*, Kartemquin Film's movie about politically oriented painter Leon Golub, *P.O.V.* boldly showcased it as a challenge to the viewpoint of Jesse Helms. While accepting the grant, it also affirmed that it would continue its mandate to search for provocative works of art.

But such policies can be risky. WGBH is now under scrutiny by the Federal Communications Commission, which received complaints about the program under its vaguely worded indecency regulation (it's a "we know it when we see it" rule).

P.O.V. has also been attacked from another quarter. Once some PBS stations last month carried an earnestly balanced program package about Cuba—Saul Landau's pro-Cuban *The Uncompromising Revolution* and the anti-Cuban *Nobody Listened* by Nestor Almendros and Jorge Ulla—a *New Republic* article claimed that *P.O.V.* had earlier rejected *Nobody Listened* on political grounds. Such criticisms could make some station programmers leery of the series in the future. *P.O.V.* producer Marc Weiss indiscreetly responded by saying that if he'd had political objections, "it would have been a lot simpler to turn the film down along with the other 340 films that were never shown to the editorial committee." But he also pointed out that the editorial committee rejected the film because it was too long, repetitive and confusing—and that partial funding from the National Endowment for Democracy also excluded it.

No wonder the adventurous is a rarity on public TV. When it does provide "something special," it runs the risk of exposing and even endangering its precarious status.

No rainbow in broadcasting

Minorities and women continue to be underrepresented in broadcast hiring, reports the latest Radio-Television News Directors Association study. Hiring patterns remained static over the last year, although more already-hired women, as well as Hispanic men, are taking managerial positions.

© 1990 Pat Aufderheide

Costa Rica

Continued from page 13

Johnson and Matheu left a trail of acronyms in their wake—organizing Costa Rica's CINDE, El Salvador's FUSADES and Guatemala's CAEM among others. Although the private-sector agencies are theoretically independent associations made up of local businessmen, almost all remain dependent on U.S. funds and leadership. As Johnson admitted to *In These Times*, "We don't want to suggest that we continue to guide these organizations, even though with some groups, of course, that is the case."

With C/CAA's guidance, these private-sector groups and the multinationals they've attracted have proven a formidable economic force. Since the passage of the CBI legislation in 1983, the Caribbean Basin's non-traditional exports to the U.S. have jumped from \$1.1 billion to more than \$3.3 billion. But the benefits of this increased trade have not yet trickled down to the Caribbean Basin's poor.

Mostly, multinational corporations have used the Caribbean Basin nations as mere export platforms—avoiding expenditures on anything but the factories, export terminals and living compounds that they use. The CBI nations, pressed by AID and the like-minded International Monetary Fund and World Bank to lure foreign investment, responded by offering multinationals tax-free incentives and promises of little or no regulation on multinational operations.

Costa Rica, for instance, exempts foreign investors from all local export, sales and consumer taxes, and collects no taxes on profits during a company's first six years of operation. The investor is also guaranteed

full repatriation of capital and profits.

Unfortunately, for the poorest Costa Ricans, the development policies promoted by C/CAA and AID have attracted multinationals

to Costa Rica by releasing them from any explicit obligation to improve it. Given newly installed President Calderon's wholesale adoption of stringent new IMF austerity mea-

sures, it seems likely that the majority of Costa Ricans will continue paying a heavy price for their nation's uncertain development. □

C A L E N D A R

Use the Calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is **\$25.00 for one insertion, \$35.00 for two insertions and \$15.00 for each additional insert**, for copy of 50 words or less (additional words are 50¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of **ITT Calendar**.

NEW YORK September 30

SCIENCE & SOCIETY announces a memorial service to honor recently deceased editor David Goldway. The service will be held at the Community Center, 270 West End Ave. at 89th St. from 2 p.m. to 5 p.m. For further information please contact SCIENCE & SOCIETY at (212) 237-8823.

October 4-6

CLASS BIAS IN HIGHER EDUCATION: EQUITY ISSUES OF THE 1990s will critically examine the state of higher education, including the impact of funding, curriculum, pedagogy, and institutional policies on poor and working-class students. Many Americans believe that college enhances social equality irrespective of one's class, race or gender. Economic restructuring, shifting political priorities, and competing claims are now challenging these traditional beliefs. Highlights include presentations by Stanley Aronowitz, Steve Brint, Leslie Hill Davidson, Patricia Gumpert, Michael Nettles, Fred Pincus and Richard Richardson. At Queens College of the City University of New York. To register or receive information about the conference, contact Eileen Moran at the Center for Labor and Society, 67-30 Kissena Blvd., Room 329, Flushing, NY 11367, or call (718) 520-7285.

MADISON, WI September 30

THE GREATER MIDWEST HARVEST FESTIVAL—Exercise your constitutional rights by protesting the Bush/Reagan administration drug policy on hemp/marijuana. Over 15,000 attended last year's rally, which was largely ignored (again) by the major

media. Demonstration begins at noon at the Library Mall on State Street. For more information, call (608) 257-5456.

BOULDER, CO October 3-6

THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED: GETTING THERE BY OTHER MEANS: 11th International Pedestrian Conference, Hotel Boulderado. City-sponsored unique event addressing alternative transportation planning and design. Innovative research and practical solutions to auto-dependency issues affecting pedestrian environments. International, regional and local perspectives, including Japan, Germany, Sweden, Soviet Union, Canada and the U.S. Alternative Transportation Center, (303) 441-4260, FAX (303) 443-8196.

CHAMPAIGN-URBANA, IL October 5-7

Thousands of student environmental activists from all 50 states and several foreign countries will gather at **CATALYST: The National Student Environmental Conference** at the University of Illinois, sponsored by the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC). Students at CATALYST will broaden the environmental movement by forging ties with minority, labor and social-justice groups. Plenary sessions held on environmental action, corporate environmental accountability, and diversity in the environmental movement. Speakers include: Ralph Nader, Helen Caldicott, Denis Hayes, Marta Benavides, John O'Connor, Winona LaDuke, Randall Hayes, and many more. For further information and registration forms, contact: CATALYST, 305 W. Elm St., #20, Urbana, IL 61801, (217) 333-2440.

ASPEN, CO October 8-10

"INNOVATIVE LAND TRANSPORTATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY"—Ralph Nader will keynote this forum on topics such as government support for transportation, the future of high-speed rail, the fu-

ture of the automobile, the ideal transportation system, and more. Write Transportation 2000, Box 8005, Suite 384, Boulder, CO 80306-8005, or call (303) 494-0243.

BASALT, CO October 19-30

FOURTH ANNUAL PERMACULTURE DESIGN COURSE—Permaculture (Permanent Agriculture) applies principles found in nature to design environmentally responsible communities. Course is designed for arid and semi-arid montane environments. Topics include trees and environmental reforestation, desert homesteading, water harvesting strategies and market gardening. Contact: Jerome's Organics, P.O. Box 631, Basalt, CO 81621, (303) 927-4158.

MINNEAPOLIS November 9-12

CREATING CHANGE, the third annual conference of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, will be held at the Holiday Inn Metrodome. Highlights are the **Fundraising Institute** and the **People of Color Institute**. Registration is \$120 by Sept. 14, \$150 after. For registration forms and more information on NGLTF Cooperating Organization rates, limited income rates and the conference in general, contact NGLTF, 1517 U St. NW, Washington, DC 20009, Attn: Creating Change. (202) 332-6483.

PALESTINE & ISRAEL December

Join the **WOMEN-TO-WOMEN PEACE BRIGADE TO PALESTINE AND ISRAEL**, two weeks, December 1990. Work and live with Palestinian women's cooperatives, plant trees in Palestine, attend the Israeli-Palestinian women's peace conference. Women of color and Palestinian-American women especially encouraged. Write Middle East Children's Alliance, 2140 Shattuck Ave., Berkeley, CA 94704, or call (415) 548-0542.

I KNOW MORE THAN YOU DO!

THE DR. SCIENCE "SMUG MUG"

Bright yellow ironstone mug. On one side, our adorable series mascot. The other side tosses down the gauntlet "I KNOW MORE THAN YOU DO!" with an arrogance available only to Dr. Science and a few select devotees. Count yourself among them for only: **\$9.95**
Postpaid



ASK DR. SCIENCE TEESHIRT/SWEATSHIRT

Pledge your allegiance to America's most pompous scientist with this nifty 4-color-on-white design that's perfect for anyone with a master's degree, strong opinions, and/or neither. Sweats 50/50, Tees 100% Cotton.
Sweats \$19.95/tees \$12.95

THE DR. SCIENCE GIFT PACK

Big Book of Science, Dr. Science Sampler cassette, Honorary Master's Degree, Dr. Science Button... and the fabled, 100% cotton Teeshirt or the ultra-cozy 50/50 Sweatshirt! (S/M/L/XL). With Teeshirt \$26.95 With Sweatshirt \$32.95

Name _____

Phone _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Credit Card # _____

Exp _____

Signature _____

DUCK'S BREATH
P.O. BOX 22513-ITT
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94122
(415) 621-2725 M-F 9am-6pm
PST

BEQUESTS

In These Times appreciates the bequests received from readers and supporters. These legacies (ranging from \$500 upward) have been a help to the paper's solvency and show a commitment for continuing *In These Times'* role of providing a left perspective on the news of today.

The following language is suggested for making a bequest: "I give to the Institute for Public Affairs, a California not-for-profit corporation, the sum of \$_____ to be used for the benefit of *In These Times*, whose address is 2040 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60647."

For more information please contact: *In These Times*, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647. Phone (312) 772-0100.

BECOME AN IN THESE TIMES SUSTAINER

Our Sustainers actively support *IN THESE TIMES* by donating on a monthly or quarterly basis. Plus, all new Sustainers receive two (free) six-month gift subscriptions! Sustainers who pledge a minimum of \$10 per month or \$25 per quarter also receive their *IN THESE TIMES* subscription free of charge. For information on enrollment, contact:

Kevin O'Donnell
ITT
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647

Gift

GIVE
IN THESE TIMES
OFFER

In These Times

1912 Debs Ave.

Mt. Morris, IL 61054

MY NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Send my **first** gift to:

NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ \$34.95 one year ☐ \$18.95 for 29 issues
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

X1990A

Send my **second** gift to:

NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ \$24.95 one year ☐ \$16.95 for 29 issues
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

X1990A

Send my **third** gift to:

NAME _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

☐ \$19.95 one year ☐ \$14.95 for 29 issues
☐ New order ☐ Renewal

X1990A

☐ Payment enclosed.

☐ Bill me later.

☐ Charge my MC/Visa

_____ exp. date _____

Or call our toll free number 1-800-435-0715.

A gift card will be sent announcing your gift.

Please write any additional gifts on a separate sheet of paper. Each gift being sent to Canada or Mexico, please add \$6.50 postage for 29 issues and \$13.00 for one year. All other foreign orders add \$23.20 for 29 issues or \$33.00 for one year.

HELP WANTED

COMMUNITY JOBS, socially responsible job opportunities. Subscribe to the only monthly nationwide listing covering peace & justice, civil rights, unions, consumer advocacy, organizing, social work and more. \$20/6 issues. **COMMUNITY JOBS**, 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, 6th Floor, Washington, DC 20009.

DIRECTOR, 12,000-member statewide peace and justice group. 12 chapters, 4 staff. Experience fundraising, development for non-profits. \$22,500-\$25,000. Begin early fall. Apply immediately to NJ SANE-FREEZE, 89 Walnut St., Montclair, NJ 07042. EOE.

HEALTH & SAFETY COORDINATOR: A major national service and public-sector labor union seeks a Western Region Occupational H&S Coordinator based in either Los Angeles or San Francisco. Work with locals to expand and nurture a network of local union H&S activists, develop local union H&S programs, provide training, research, worksite tours. Relevant educational background and experience required. NOTE: Similar position available later this year in Chicago. Submit resume to: P.O. Box 34104, Washington, DC 20043. EOE.

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR at progressive Colorado foundation. Responsibilities: fundraising, board interaction and administration. Understanding of movements for social change, strong writing and speaking abilities required. Resume, cover letter and 3 references to: Search Committee, Chinook Fund, 2412 W. 32nd Ave., Denver, CO 80211. Women, people of color, gays and lesbians encouraged to apply. Deadline: October 15.

MULTI-RACIAL ORGANIZING: PROGRAM DIRECTOR wanted for 3-year project to help community organizations in North and South Carolina cross the barriers of race, gender and class. Send resume or write for job description: Si Kahn, Grassroots Leadership, P.O. Box 36006, Charlotte, NC 28236.

INTERESTED in becoming a missionary priest or brother in Canada's West and North? Contact Fr. Jacques Johnson, OMI, 10336-114th St., Edmonton, AB T5K 1S3, (403) 488-4767.

PUBLICATIONS

GAY COMMUNITY NEWS, Since 1973, the only national newsweekly covering lesbian and gay life and liberation. Each week GCN brings you the liveliest mix of news, analysis and entertainment around, as well as a monthly Book Review Supplement and special issues on topics ranging from new gay male performers to lesbian safer sex. 1 year, \$33; 6 months, \$20. GCN Subscriptions, 62 Berkeley St., Boston, MA 02116.

ALTERNATIVE PRESS INDEX: TOOL FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. API is an invaluable tool for your study of social change. 250 alternative & radical publications indexed. Ask the folks at your library to subscribe. \$125/institutions, \$30/individuals. Write Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218 for more information.

This publication is available in microform from University Microfilms International.

Call toll-free 800-521-3044. In Michigan, Alaska and Hawaii call collect 313-761-4700. Or mail inquiry to: University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

Good Sex is Safe Sex. Since 1987

The Reimer Foundation has organized the FREE distribution of over 200,000 condoms, produced posters, videos, cards, T.V. shows, and advertisements that embrace life...with protection. Get into rubbers! How can you help promote our most basic freedom? Write or call:

The Reimer Foundation
606 W. Barry, #300
Chicago, IL 60657
1-312-935-SAFE

Donations gratefully accepted.
The Reimer Foundation is a non-profit corporation, dedicated to stopping AIDS now.

C L A S S I F I E D S

1990-91 DIRECTORY OF ALTERNATIVE & RADICAL PUBLICATIONS. Over 300 periodicals listed, \$3.00. Write: Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 33109, Baltimore, MD 21218.

Socialist biweekly. Since 1891. \$4 year. **THE PEOPLE** (ITT), Box 50218, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

HANDWRITTEN ACCOUNT-SUPERNATURAL CLOUD, Texas coast 1975. Highlighting earth rotational displacement, \$2. D. Nieder, P.O. Box 5162, San Antonio, TX 78201.

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for \$3.00 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

AGAINST THE CURRENT. A magazine for today's movements and for a socialist future. Since glasnost is so great for Eastern Europe, let's try some here! Special introductory subscription (one year, six issues) just \$12. Two years \$24. ATC, 7012 Michigan Ave., Detroit, MI 48210.

Heading for a **MARXIST PSYCHOLOGY**, 111 pp., \$9. ESCO 14C, 3400 Fort Independence St., Bronx, NY 10463.

WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL NETWORK -WIN NEWS, an open participatory Quarterly reports on the Status of Women & Development worldwide. Information: 187 Grant St., Box X, Lexington, MA 02173. For free sample please send \$1 postage.

BOOKS

THE LATE GREAT BOOK THE BIBLE: 240-page book debunks biblical B.S. \$5. Truth Missions, Box 3849, Manhattan Beach, CA 90266.

MARIJUANA GROWER'S INSIDERS GUIDE. Mel Frank's new guide received rave reviews from both experts and novices. "This is THE definitive guide to growing"-*High Times*. 400 pages, 200 photographs. Send \$19.95 plus \$3 shipping and handling to: Red Eye Press, P.O. Box 65751, Los Angeles, CA 90065-0751.

CLARENCE DARROW'S wisdom, rationalism, agnosticism in three incomparable booklets. Set \$5.00 ppd. Independent Publications, Box 102, Dept. A, Ridgely, NJ 07657.

NICARAGUA: La lucha continúa...

Barricada Internacional, biweekly news from the FSLN. Now bilingual. Sample free! \$35/year; \$18/6 mo. Barricada USA-I, PO Box 410150 SF, CA 94141



THIRD ANNUAL GRANT-SEARCH

The **PUFFIN FOUNDATION LTD** is particularly interested in fostering and encouraging younger artists, who might find difficulty in having their works aired, due to the genre of their work and/or social philosophy. Our aim is to encourage the continuing dialogue between art and the lives of ordinary people through grants and other forms of support.

We are requesting applicants who have new works or projects in the areas of fine arts, the written word and the performing arts, to apply to the FOUNDATION before December 31, 1990. Grants totaling \$80,000 were made in 1989. The average grant amounted to \$2,000. Applications for grants can be secured by request.

THE PUFFIN FOUNDATION LTD.
CN 27
South Hackensack, N.J. 07606

"ANARCHIST COOKBOOK"—Available again! \$22, postpaid. Barricade Books, Box 1401-J, Secaucus, NJ 07096.

VIDEO

FIND OUT ABOUT the Oakland Car Bombing of Earth First! Activists, Corporate Clearcutting of Old Growth Redwoods, and Redwood Summer Actions in "REDWOOD SUMMER: WHERE THE '90S BEGIN"—the inspiring 20-minute organizing video that everyone's talking about. Send \$15-\$25 to: Ecovideo-graphie, 2215R Market St., San Francisco, CA 94114.

PERSONALS

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links left singles, nationwide. Free sample. P.O. Box 555-T, Stockbridge, MA 01262.

NATIONWIDE SINGLES PHOTO MAGAZINE. Send: name, address, age. Send no money. Exchange, 1817 Welton, #1580-BA, Denver, CO 80202.

NEW FRIENDS, NEW ROMANCE, NEW LOVE. International contacts, affordable membership plus bonus. Join us! **IDEAL COMPANION**, Box 7697-Times, Albuquerque, NM 87194.

TRAVEL

EUROPE THIS SUMMER? Jet there from the East Coast—\$160, from the West Coast—\$269, or \$229 from anywhere else. **AIRHITCH**, (212) 864-2000.

CHRISTMAS IN OAXACA, MEXICO. December 21-30, \$970 — all inclusive. Rosalie Ross, (415) 421-0930.

HOMESTAY IN RUSSIA. Sleep beneath handmade quilts, eat home-cooked meals. Two weeks, two cities, two English-speaking families sharing your in-

BECOME AN IN THESE TIMES SUSTAINER

Our Sustainers actively support **IN THESE TIMES** by donating on a monthly or quarterly basis. Plus, all new Sustainers receive two (free) six-month gift subscriptions! Sustainers who pledge a minimum of \$10 per month or \$25 per quarter also receive their **IN THESE TIMES** subscription free of charge. For information on enrollment, contact:

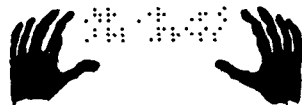
Kevin O'Donnell
ITT
2040 N. Milwaukee Ave.
Chicago, IL 60647

Atlantic Recycled Paper Co.

copy paper • envelopes • computer paper
napkins • printing paper • paper towels
toilet paper • facial tissue

For Catalog, Send \$1 To:
A.R.P., Box 11021, Baltimore, MD 21212

The Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc.



For blind and print-handicapped persons, selected articles from **IN THESE TIMES** are included in **FREEDOM IDEAS INTERNATIONAL** (FI), a quarterly review of minority and independent Left publications, produced by the: Our Right to Know Braille Press, Inc., on 4-track 15/16 ips cassette tape. A 4-issue subscription to FI costs \$5. Send to: Our Right To Know Braille Press, Inc., 640 Bayside, Detroit, MI 48217, (313) 842-1804.

T-SHIRTS

FREE BUTTON with **FREE PROGRESSIVE T-SHIRT** etc. **CATALOG**. Send SASE to Alternative Graphics, P.O. Box 124-C, Buffalo, NY 14212.

ORGANIZING RESOURCES

BUTTONS & BUMPER STICKERS: "Iraq Out of Kuwait, U.S. Out of the Middle East"; "Are You Willing to Die for Exxon?"; "U.S. Troops Out of the Middle East"; "Talks Not Troops"; \$1.00 each; \$18/fifty (35¢ each); We also custom-print. Prepaid or C.O.D. only. Donnelly: Colt, Box 188-ITT, Hampton, CT 06247. FAX (203) 455-9597. 32-pg. catalogue \$1.00.



BOLERIUM BOOKS

AMERICAN LABOR, RADICAL, AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

BOLERIUM BOOKS offers an extensive selection of used, out-of-print, and rare books and ephemera on American social movements, including labor, African-American studies, and women's history. Our most recent catalog is available upon request.

2141 Mission, #300, San Francisco, CA 94110,
415/863-6353 1-800/326-6353
(U.S. and Canada)

100 % RECYCLED PAPER PRODUCTS



TOILET PAPER MADE FROM 100% POST-CONSUMER WASTE!
CASE (96 rolls) \$43.00
1/2 case \$24.50
1/4 case \$13.75
12 rolls \$ 7.50
PLUS SHIPPING

SAMPLER PAK, 6 rolls Toilet Paper, 2 rolls towels, 2 boxes facial tissues, 375 napkins. 1 lined yellow pad for only \$14.75 (shipping included)

WE RECYCLE UNLIMITED™
P.O. BOX 275 ITS
CAPE PORPOISE, ME. 04014
207-282-8880 FAX 282-9488

IN THESE TIMES Classified Ads Grab Attention

...and work like your own sales force.
Your message will reach 128,000 responsive readers each week (89% made a mail order purchase last year). **ITT** classies deliver a big response for a little cost.

Word Rates:

95¢ per word 1 or 2 issues
85¢ per word 3-5 issues
80¢ per word 6-9 issues
75¢ per word 10-19 issues
65¢ per word 20 or more issues

Display Inch Rates:

\$30 per inch 1 or 2 issues
\$28 per inch 3-5 issues
\$26 per inch 6-9 issues
\$24 per inch 10-19 issues
\$22 per inch 20 or more issues

All classified ads must be prepaid. Ad deadline is Friday, 12 days before the date of publication. All issues dated on Wednesday.

Enclosed is my check for \$_____ for _____ week(s).

Please indicate desired heading _____

Advertiser _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Send to: **IN THESE TIMES**, Classified Ads, 2040 N. Milwaukee, Chicago, IL 60647.

The Grades of Wrath

By Richard Hill

ME AND ESTRELLITA COME UP FROM HOMESTEAD WITH Joaquin, Dierdre, Gesner the little Haitian, and the Obligado brothers to work the fall harvest. We didn't even bother to look for housing but slept in the bus at the edge of campus and went to the English Department to apply and waited to see if enrollment would be anything like the bumper crop we'd heard about. Dierdre grumbled the whole time. She wanted to go back and pick lettuce, then beans, then navel oranges and tangerines. It was real hot, and we had to walk a long way to find some dorm showers we could use.

"Why you want to pick?" we asked Dierdre. "This is white-collar work. This is America." She just fan herself with one of the textbooks and look out the bus window with that black face of hers like a mean squall coming off the Gulf. "Jamaicans too proud to do this work," she said. "This is stoop labor. I rather cut cane." She helped Estrellita cook, but she wouldn't sing with us after dinner.

It was a bumper crop, the highest freshman enrollment ever. We all got four sections Freshman Comp except little Gesner, who got two comps and two ESLs, which was by then about the only thing could make Dierdre smile. She said English was his second language, all right—a long second. Even we had trouble understanding little Gesner, but he was a cheerful little dude and did his class preparations just like he could read. We had it worked out that we all got our MFAs in different places and Gesner was Cajun, but they didn't ask us for no papers.

Dierdre got sick before midterms. First it was just throwing up and headaches, then she just stopped meeting her students and laid around all the time in the bus and wouldn't eat nothing but Burger King milk shakes. We didn't have no student benefits because we was faculty and no faculty benefits because we was temporary. The local welfare couldn't help be-

cause we wasn't U.S. citizens, though that never kept them from deducting our taxes. The campus doctor did look once at her before he found out she wasn't no student from Zaire and said it looked like depression to him. He wrote a prescription for pills that we couldn't afford. Dierdre stayed on her cot with the Burger King milk shakes and a copy of *Huckleberry Finn*. At least the weather cooled off.

She was a little better by Thanksgiving and went with us to the cafeteria for dinner, but the next time I saw her she was packed and heading for the Greyhound station. "I'm goin' south," she said. "Don't try to stop me!"

I didn't. We all talked about it that night. How could she give up being a teacher in an American university? "Ai, chihuahua, but she's proud," Estrellita said. "Too proud for her own good." We decided to send her some money as soon as we could.

We got a few postcards from her over the spring semester. We were all busting our tails to keep up and never got enough money ahead to send her any. She said she'd worked the lettuce again, the snap beans, the Valencias and grapefruit. She said she could breathe deep again and didn't even mind the pesticides, snakes and skeeters.

One thing about teaching, the time passes quick. Before we knew it our final grades were due. Little Gesner got hired for the summer, but the rest of us got cut loose. We'd been hearing rumors about a budget crunch here and a big crop of freshmen due next year in North Carolina. We headed up there in late August, but the rumors was false and only Estrellita and one of the Obligados got hired, part time. It was tough. Me and Joaquin and the other Obligado scratched for work, but we didn't find much. We wouldn't have made it through that winter if it wasn't for the money Dierdre sent.

Richard Hill is a writer living in Florida.